[美] 弗雷德里克·罗格瓦尔
(Fredrik Logevall) / 著

詹涓 / 译

战争的余烬

EMBERS OF WAR:
The Fall of
an Empire and the Making of
America's Vietnam

法兰西殖民帝国的灭亡及美国对越南的干预

2013 年历史类普利策奖 / 美国历史学家协会弗朗西斯·帕克曼奖 / 美国图书馆巴黎图书奖 /

美国外交关系委员会亚瑟·罗斯图书奖 /

入围莱昂内尔·盖尔伯奖、坎迪尔历史文学奖决选名单 / 《华盛顿邮报》《基督教科学箴言报》

《环球邮报》年度好书 / 近年来最受欢迎的历史著作之一 /

社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

弗雷德里克·罗格瓦尔（Fredrik Logevall）

哈佛大学国际事务研究中心劳伦斯·D. 贝尔弗教授（the Laurence D. Belfer Professor），同时在肯尼迪政府学院和历史系任职。他有9部作品，本书获普利策图书奖。弗雷德里克的随笔和评论文章经常被刊登在《纽约时报》《华盛顿邮报》《洛杉矶时报》，以及《政治家》《每日野兽》《外交事务》上。他出生于瑞典斯德哥尔摩，曾是美国对外关系历史学家协会主席，以及美国外交关系委员会和美国历史学家协会成员。弗雷德里克现住在美国马萨诸塞州的坎布里奇。

Embers of War：The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America’s Vietnam

Copyright© 2012 by Fredrik Logevall

This translation published by arrangement with Random House，an imprint of The Random House Publishing Group，a division of Random House LLC.

战争的余烬

EMBERS OF WAR: The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America's Vietnam

〔美〕弗雷德里克·罗格瓦尔（Fredrik Logevall）/ 著

詹涓 / 译

法兰西殖民帝国的灭亡及美国对越南的干预

社会科学文献出版社
SOCIAL SCIENCES ACADEMIC PRESS (CHINA)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

2017[illegible]5[illegible]

□□□□

□□□

——2013□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

——2013□□□□·□□□□□

□□□……□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□

——□□□□□□□□·□□□□Gordon Goldstein□

□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Choosing War*□1999□□□□□□20□□60□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□

——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Alan Brinkley□

□□□□1940□1960□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

——□□□□□□□□□□·R.□□□Gary R. Hess□

[illegible]……[illegible]50[illegible]

——[illegible]Jonathan Mirsky[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]1919[illegible]1945[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]

——[illegible]2013[illegible]·[illegible]Lionel Gelber Prize[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——[illegible]·[illegible]Seth Jacobs[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

——[illegible]

[illegible]40[illegible]……[illegible]

——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]……
[illegible]

——[illegible]

[illegible]

——[illegible]

[illegible]

——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

——[illegible]*A Bright Shining Lie*[illegible]·[illegible]Neil Sheehan[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

——[illegible]*A Good Scent from a Strange Mountain*[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Olen Butler[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

——[illegible]*Fire in the Lake*[illegible]·[illegible]Frances FitzGerald[illegible]

[illegible]

——[illegible]1950[illegible]1975[illegible]*America’s Longest War*[illegible]*The United States and Vietnam*[illegible]*1950-1975*[illegible]·C.[illegible]George C.Herring[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]——[illegible]

——[illegible]*Washington Rules*[illegible]*America’s Path to Permanent War*[illegible]·[illegible]Andrew J. Bacevich[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]

——[illegible]Université du Québec à Montréal[illegible]·[illegible]Christopher Goscha[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]

——[illegible]*The Vietnam War*[illegible]*A Concise International History*[illegible]·[illegible]Mark Lawrence[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

——[illegible]*The Bitter Road to Freedom*[illegible]·I.[illegible]William I. Hitchcock[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1919[illegible]·[illegible]40[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1949[illegible]1950[illegible]

1949[illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1953[illegible]1954[illegible]1950[illegible]1954[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]1954[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]17[illegible]17[illegible]1956[illegible]

[illegible]·D.[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]60[illegible]

[illegible]·B.[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

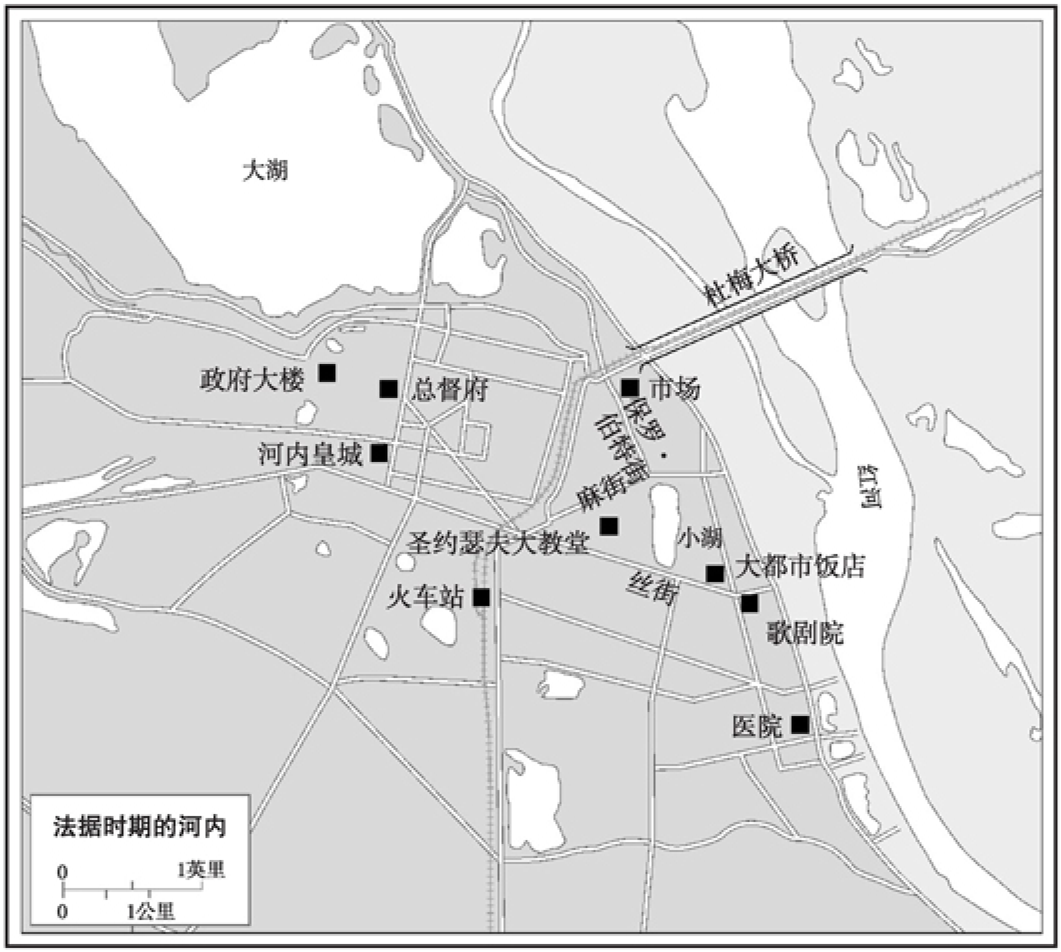
[illegible]

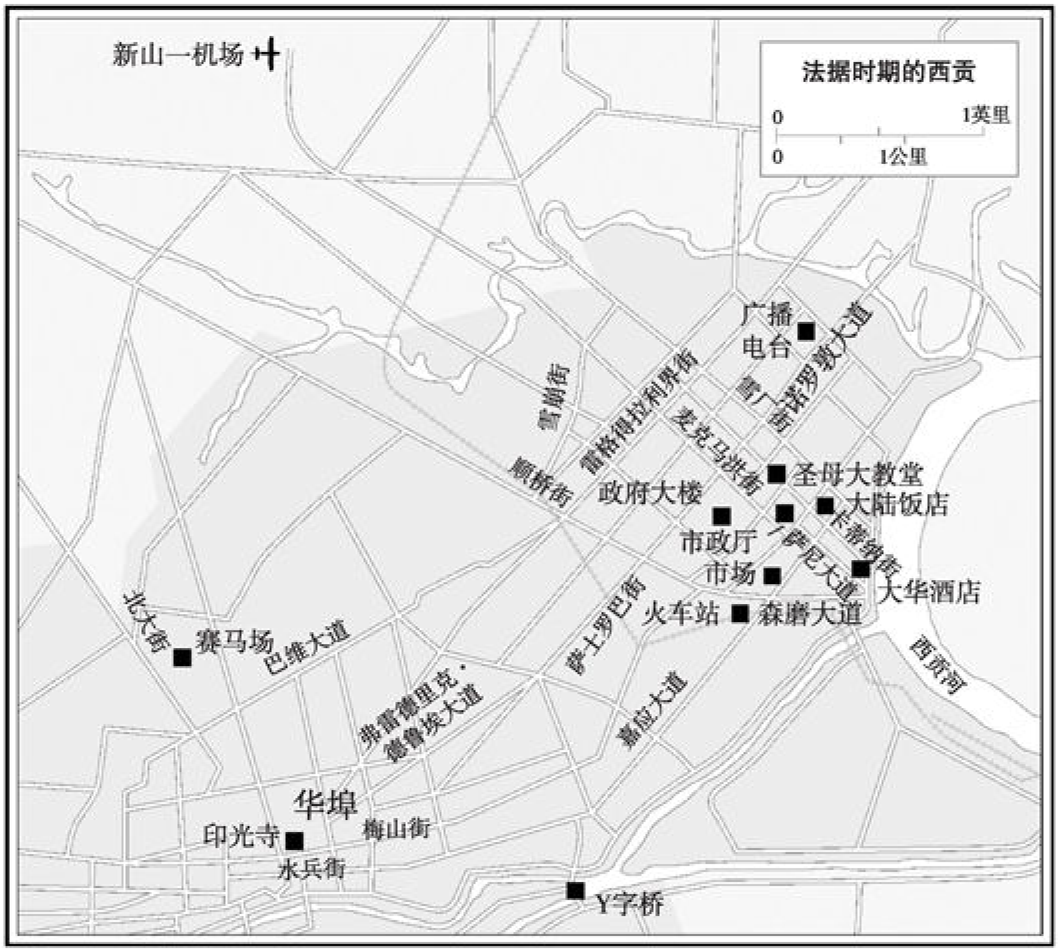
□□

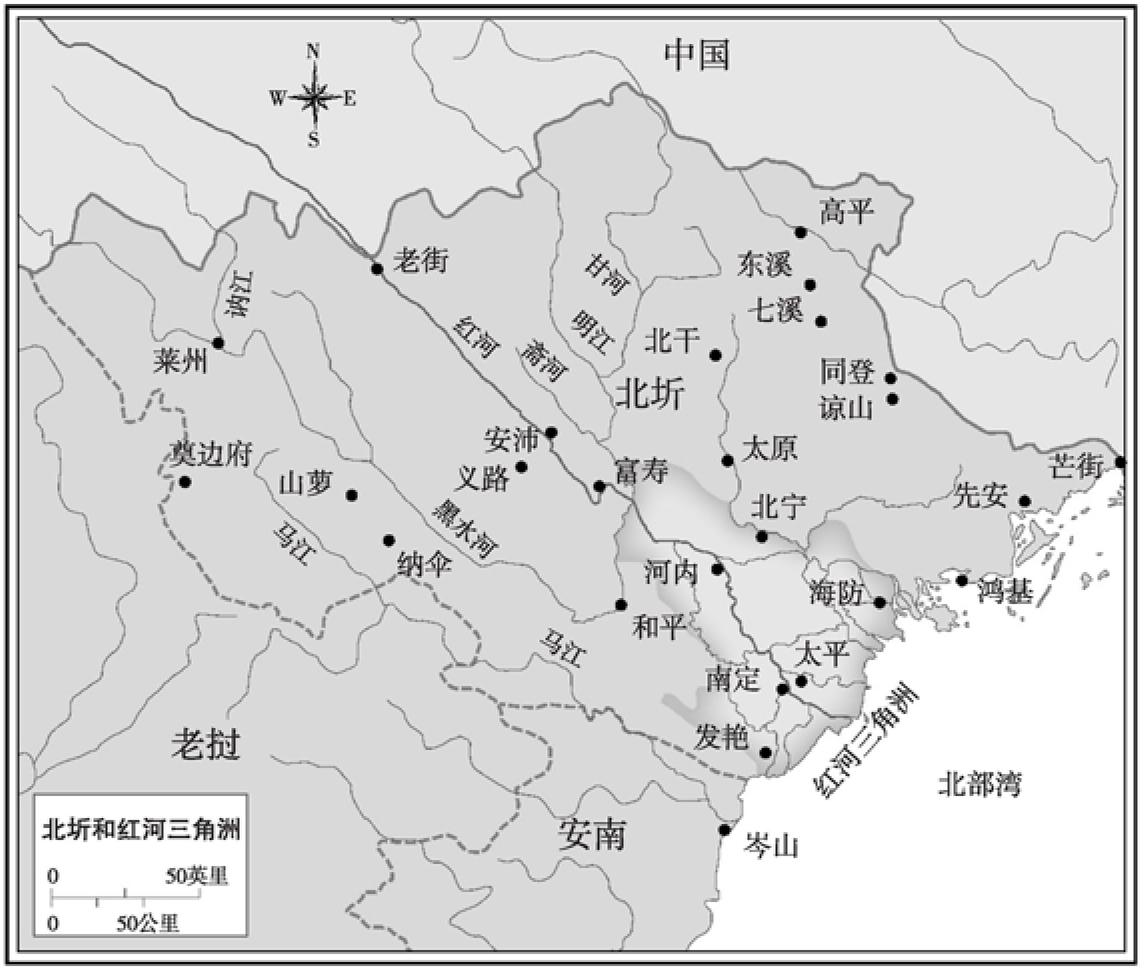
- □□
- □□ □□□□□□□□□
- □□□□ □□ 1940□1945□
    - □□□ “□□□□□□□□”
    - □□□ □□□□□
    - □□□ □□□□
    - □□□ “□□□□□”
- □□□□ □□□□ 1946□1949□
    - □□□ □□□□
    - □□□ □□
    - □□□ □□□□□□□
    - □□□ “□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”
- □□□□ □□□□□□□ 1949□1953□
    - □□□ “□□□□”
    - □□□ 4□□□□□□□
    - □□□□ □·□·□□□□□
    - □□□□ □□□□□□
    - □□□□ □□□□□□□
    - □□□□ □□□□□□□
    - □□□□ □□□□□□□□
- □□□□ □□ 1953□1954□
    - □□□□ □□□□□
    - □□□□ “□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”
    - □□□□ “□□□□□□□□□”
    - □□□□ □□□□□
    - □□□□ □□□VS□□
    - □□□□□ □□□
- □□□□ □□□□□□□ 1954□

    - [illegible] [illegible]
    - [illegible] “[illegible]”
    - [illegible] “[illegible]”
- [illegible] [illegible] 1954[illegible]1959[illegible]
    - [illegible] [illegible]
    - [illegible] [illegible]
    - [illegible] [illegible]
- [illegible] [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]
- [illegible]

中国
缅甸
老挝
泰国
柬埔寨
安南
北圻
交趾支那
北部湾
海南
泰国湾
南海
高平
老街
莱州
红河
谅山
黑水河
安沛
奠边府
河内
北宁
孟夸
海防
红河三角洲
湄公河
琅勃拉邦
石缸平原
清化
荣市
万象
他曲
洞海
安南山脉
广治
顺化
土伦
蒙河
巴色
昆嵩
波来古
安溪
曼谷
归仁
暹粒
中央高地
洞里萨湖
邦美蜀
芽庄
金边
大叻
西宁
边和
里兹平原
西贡
河仙
美湫
芹苴
湄公河三角洲
金瓯
法属印度支那
0
150英里
150公里
20°
15°
10°
100°
105°
N
S
W
E


大湖
杜梅大桥
政府大楼
总督府
市场
保罗·伯特街
河内皇城
麻街
红河
圣约瑟夫大教堂
小湖
大都市饭店
丝街
火车站
歌剧院
医院
法据时期的河内
0
1英里
0
1公里


法据时期的西贡
0
1英里
0
1公里
新山一机场
广播
电台
诺罗敦大道
雪厂街
麦克马洪街
圣母大教堂
大陆饭店
政府大楼
市政厅
市场
大华酒店
火车站
森磨大道
顺桥街
北大街
赛马场
巴维大道
西贡河
华埠
印光寺
梅山街
水兵街
Y字桥



中国
N
W
E
S
高平
老街
东溪
七溪
甘河
明江
讷江
北干
红河
斋河
莱州
同登
谅山
北圻
安沛
太原
芒街
奠边府
山萝
义路
富寿
先安
北宁
马江
黑水河
纳伞
河内
鸿基
海防
和平
马江
太平
南定
发艳
红河三角洲
老挝
北部湾
北圻和红河三角洲
0
50英里
0
50公里
安南
岑山

北圻各省
1. 封土和老街
2. 北宁和嘉林
3. 兴安
4. 海阳
5. 建安
6. 宁平
7. 南定和裴朱
中国
河江
高平
北干
宣光
安沛
莱州
谅山
太原
北江
海宁
富寿
荣市–福安
河内
山萝
广安
河西
海防
和平
河南
太平
老挝
安南
北部湾
1
2
3
4
5
6
7

[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Fitzgerald Kennedy[illegible]JFK[illegible]Tan Son Nhut airport[illegible]34[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]Addison’s disease[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible]Ho Chi Minh[illegible]Viet Minh[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]rue Catinat[illegible][2][illegible]40[illegible]——[illegible][3]

[illegible]Majestic Hotel[illegible][illegible]·[illegible]Graham Greene[illegible]*The Quiet American*[illegible]“[illegible]”26[illegible]“[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]JFK[illegible]Boulevard Charner[illegible]·[illegible]Seymour Topping[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Franklin Delano Roosevelt[illegible][5]

[illegible]·[illegible]Edmund Gullion[illegible]·[illegible]Donald Heath[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Jean de Lattre de Tassigny[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][6]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

[illegible]1954[illegible]Dien Bien Phu[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]·D.[illegible]·[illegible]17[illegible]1956[illegible]Ngo Dinh Diem[illegible]·F.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Diem miracle[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]1959[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Dale Buis[illegible]·[illegible]Chester Ovnand[illegible]——[illegible]32[illegible]5.8[illegible]

[illegible]300[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible][9][illegible]1954[illegible][10][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible][11][illegible]1945[illegible]1954[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]1945[illegible][12]

[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Dean Acheson[illegible]Bao Dai[illegible]·[illegible]Anthony Eden[illegible]·[illegible]Edward Lansdale[illegible]

[illegible][13][illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible][14][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]Vo Nguyen Giap[illegible]1950[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1954[illegible]

[illegible][15][illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Pierre Mendès-France[illegible]1954[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1945[illegible]1975[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]1954[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]·[illegible]Neil Sheehan[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]sunk-cost fallacy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1966[illegible]1967[illegible]2004[illegible]2005[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]counterinsurgency[illegible]1967[illegible]·[illegible]William Westmoreland[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Navarre[illegible]1953[illegible]5[illegible][17]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible][18][illegible]·[illegible]Daniel Ellsberg[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]David Halberstam[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Foster Dulles[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible][22][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1910[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]——[illegible]1912[illegible]1913[illegible]20[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□[23]1919□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□

---

[1] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□41□□

[2] Tonkin□□□

[3] 1951 travel journal□Box 11□Book 3□October-November 1951□pp.116ff□□□·F.□□□□□□□□□□·F.□□□□□□□□□□□JFKL□□□□Geoffrey Perret□*Jack□A Life Like No Other*□New York□Random House□2001□□170□

[4] 1951 trips□Mid and Far East□travel diary□Box 24□Robert F. Kennedy Preadministration Personal Files□JFKL□Robert Mann□*A Grand Delusion□America's Descent into Vietnam*□New York□Basic□2001□□83.

[5] Seymour Topping□*On the Front Lines of the Cold War□An American Correspondent's Journal from the Chinese Civil War to the Cuban Missile Crisis and Vietnam*□Baton Rouge□Louisiana State University Press□2010□□151-55□*The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decisionmaking on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□68.

[6] JFK travel journal□1951□JFKL.

[7] Robert Dallek□*An Unfinished Life□John F. Kennedy□1917-1963*□Boston□Little□Brown□2003□□166-67□*Pentagon Papers*□Gravel□□1□72.

[8] Arthur M. Schlesinger□Jr.□*Robert Kennedy and His Times*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1978□□1□96.

[9] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mark Bradley□Pierre Brocheux□Laurent Cesari□Jessica Chapman□Chen Jian□□□□□Chester Cooper□Philippe Devillers□William Duiker□David Elliott□Duong Van Mai Elliott□Bernard Fall□Lloyd Gardner□Christopher Goscha□Ellen Hammer□George Herring□Stanley Karnow□Jean Lacouture□A. J. Langguth□Mark Lawrence□David Marr□Edward Miller□Jonathan Nashel□John Prados□Pierre Rocolle□Alain Ruscio□Neil Sheehan□Martin Shipway□Ronald Spector□Kathryn Statler□Martin Thomas□Stein

Tønnesson□Frédéric Turpin□Martin Windrow□□Marilyn Young□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ *Historical Dictionary of the Indochina War□International and Multidisciplinary Perspectives*□Honolulu□University of Hawaii Press/Nordic Institute of Asian Studies□2011□□Alain Ruscio□*La guerre “française” d’Indochine□1945-1954□□Les sources de la connaissance□Bibliographie□filmographie□documents divers* □Paris□Les Indes savantes□2002□□Michel Bodin□*Dictionnaire de la guerre d’Indochine□1945-1954*□Paris□Economica□2004□□Jean-Pierre Rioux□*Dictionnaire de la France coloniale*□Paris□Flammarion□2007□□Edwin Moïse□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□http□//www.clemson.edu/caah/history/facultypages/ EdMoise/bibliography.html□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hugues Tertrais□*Atlas des guerres d’Indochine□1940-1990□Del’Indochine française à l’ouverture internationale*□Paris□Autrement□2004□□□□□□□□Devillers□Fall□Goscha□Lawrence □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[10] □□□Christopher E. Goscha□*Vietnam□Un état né de la guerre□1945-54*□Paris□Armand Colin□2011□□François Guillemot□*Dai Viêt□indépendance et révolution au Viêt-Nam. L’échec de la troisième voie□1938-1955*□Paris□Les Indes savantes□2011□□David Marr□*Vietnam 1945-1950□War□State□Revolution*□Berkeley□University of California Press□forthcoming□□Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémery□*Indochina□An Ambiguous Colonization□1858-1954*□trans. Ly Lan Dill-Klein et al. □Berkeley□University of California Press□2009□□David W. P. Elliott□*The Vietnamese War□Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975* □Armonk□N.Y.□M.E. Sharpe□2007□□Shawn McHale□“Understanding the Fanatic Mind□The Viet Minh and Race Hatred in the First Indochina War□1945-1954□□” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4□Fall 2009□□Jessica M. Chapman□“Debating the Will of Heaven□South Vietnamese Politics and Nationalism in International Perspective□1953-56□” Ph.D. dissertation□University of California-Santa Barbara□2006□Edward Miller□“Grand Designs□Vision□Power□and Nation Building in America’s Alliance with Ngô Dình Diêm□1954-1960□” Ph.D. dissertation□Harvard University□2004□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Greg Lockhart□*Nation in Arms□The Origins of the People’s Army of Vietnam*□Wellington□N.Z.□Allen & Unwin□1989□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Journal of Vietnamese Studies*□

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□ □□□-□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□Christopher E. Goscha and Christian F.Ostermann□eds.□*Connecting Histories□Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia□1945-1962*□Washington□D.C.□Woodrow Wilson Center Press□2009□□Tuong Vu and Wasana Wongsurawat□eds.□*Dynamics of the Cold War in Asia□Ideology□Identity□and Culture*□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2009□□Hans Antlöv and Stein Tønnesson□*Imperial Policy and South East Asian Nationalism*□Surrey□U.K.□Curzon□1995□□Marc Frey□Ronald W. Pruessen□and Tai Yong Tan□eds.□*The Transformation of Southeast Asia□International Perspectives on Decolonization*□Armonk□N.Y.□M.E. Sharpe□2003□□

[13] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□David Elliott□□David W. P. Elliott□“The Future of the Past□Some Questions about the Vietnam War for the Next Generation of Historians□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Elliott□*Vietnamese War*□

[14] □□AJ. Stockwell□“Southeast Asia in War and Peace□The End of European Empires□” in Nicholas Tarling□ed.□*The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*□volume 4□Cambridge□U.K.□Cambridge University Press□1992□□1-32□

[15] Paul Mus□*Destin de l’empire français□De l’Indochine à l’Afrique*□Paris□éditions du Seuil□1954□□Part 1.

[16] Neil Sheehan□introduction to Jules Roy□*The Battle of Dienbienphu*□trans. Robert Baldick□New York□Harper & Row□1965□reprint New York□Carroll & Graf□1984□□xiv.

[17] □□□□□□□□□□David F. Schmitz□*The Tet Offensive□Politics□War□and Public Opinion*□Lanham□Md.□Rowman & Littlefi eld□2005□□69□

[18] □□□□□□□1961□1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□Fredrik Logevall□*Choosing War□The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1999□□

[19] Daniel Ellsberg□*Papers on the War*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1972□□42-135.

[20] “□□”□□□□Thomas A. Bass□*The Spy Who Loved Us□The Vietnam War and Pham Xuan An’s Dangerous Game*□New York□Public Affairs□2009□□71□“□□”□□□□David Halberstam□keynote address□conference on “Vietnam and the Presidency□” JFKL□March 10□2006□available at www.jfklibrary.org/Events-and-Awards/Forums.aspx□f=2006□last accessed Feb. 25□2012□□

[21] □□Marilyn B. Young□*The Vietnam Wars□1945-1990*□New York□HarperCollins□1991□□46□

[22] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Michael Adas□“A Colonial War in a Postcolonial Era□The United States’ Occupation of Vietnam□” in Andreas W. Daum□Lloyd C. Gardner□and Wilfried Mausbach□eds.□*America□the Vietnam War□and the World□Comparative and International Perspectives*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2003□□27-42□

[23] □□□□□□□□□□□□□A.J.□□□□A. J. Langguth□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□*Our Vietnam□The War□1954-1975*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2000□□55.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

1919[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1]

[illegible][2][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3]

[illegible]Sûreté Générale[illegible]Nghe An[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]30[illegible]1920[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]13[illegible][4]

[illegible]20[illegible]1919[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][5]

[illegible]

[illegible]1919[illegible][6][illegible]——[illegible]17[illegible]——[illegible]1850[illegible]1884[illegible]

[illegible]13700[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][7]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1857[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1865[illegible]Marseille Chamber of Commerce[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]mission civilisatrice[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Rudyard Kipling[illegible]1899[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]19[illegible]80[illegible]90[illegible][9]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Indian Congress Party[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1887[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]French Indochinese Union[illegible][10]

[illegible]12.7[illegible]32.9[illegible]1100[illegible]48[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Pasteur Institute[illegible]

[illegible]“colons”[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]1904[illegible]1905[illegible]1907[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1914[illegible]2500[illegible][11]

[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1890[illegible]Nguyen Sinh Cung[illegible]10[illegible][12][illegible]Phan Boi Chau[illegible]Phan Chu Trinh[illegible]1907[illegible]National Academy in Hue[illegible]1911[illegible]21[illegible]Van

Ba□——□□□□□□□70□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□30
□□□□□□□

□□1911□9□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□[13]□□□“□□□”□□[14]

1912□□·□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Carlton Hotel□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Auguste Escoffier□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□[15]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1920□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Terence MacSwiney□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□74□□□□□□□[16]□□□

□□[17]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□56□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1919□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]Phan Van Truong[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]1919[illegible]·[illegible]Albert Sarraut[illegible]·[illegible]Léon Blum[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Longuet[illegible]1920[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

> [illegible]……[illegible]2000[illegible][18]

[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible][19]

1920[illegible]12[illegible]29[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[20]

[illegible]1919[illegible]·[illegible]Erez Manela[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1921[illegible][21]

[illegible]*La Paria*[illegible]*Le Journal du peuple*[illegible]*L’Humanité*[illegible]*La revue communiste*[illegible]*Le Dragon de bambou*[illegible]——[illegible]1922[illegible]5[illegible]*Cinégraph*[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Carpentier[illegible]·[illegible]Ted Lewis[illegible]Guy N’Qua[illegible]“le manager”[illegible]“le knockout”[illegible]“le round”[illegible]·[illegible]Raymond Poincaré[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]Club de Faubourg[illegible]·[illegible]Léo Poldès[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

> [illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][23]

[illegible]·[illegible]Jacques Sternel[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[24]

[illegible]

[illegible]1922[illegible]1923[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1923[illegible]1923[illegible]6[illegible]13[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]1924[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]Peasant International[illegible]Cresintern[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Gregory Zinoviev[illegible]·[illegible]Kliment Voroshilov[illegible]1924[illegible]1925[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·J.[illegible]William J. Duiker[illegible][26]

1927[illegible]1930[illegible]8[illegible]10[illegible]Indochinese Communist Party[illegible]ICP[illegible]

[illegible]Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang[illegible]VNQDD[illegible]1929[illegible]1500[illegible]1930[illegible]2[illegible]9[illegible][27]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

20□□30[illegible]30[illegible]1936□□1939[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1939[illegible]Poulo Condore□□□Cao Dao□——[illegible]——[illegible][28]

[illegible]——[illegible]2500[illegible][29][illegible]20□□30[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1939□9[illegible]1940□6[illegible]“[illegible]”□[30]

---

[1] [illegible]1919□6□18[illegible]*L’Humanité*[illegible]Sophie Quinn-Judge□*Ho Chi Minh□The Missing Years 1919-1941*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2003□□11-28□Pierre Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh□A Biography*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2007□□11-14□William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□54-63□

[2] □1919□6□19[illegible]Colonel House[illegible]David A. Andelman□*Shattered Peace□Versailles 1919 and the Price We Pay Today*□Hoboken□N.J.□Wiley□2008□□124-25□

[3] Erez Manela□*The Wilsonian Moment□Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism*□New York□Oxford University Press□2007□□□□□□□□□□□□

[4] Quinn-Judge□*Missing Years*□20.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Daniel Hémery□*Ho Chi Minh□de l’Indochine au Vietnam*□Paris□Gallimard□1990□□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□E. V. Kobelev□*Ho Chi Minh*□Hanoi□Gioi□1999□□Quinn-Judge□*Missing Years*□Paul Mus□*Ho Chi Minh□le Vietnam et l’Asie*□Paris□éditions du Seuil□1971□□Huynh Kim Khanh□*Vietnamese Communism□1925-1945*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1982□□David G. Marr□*Vietnamese Anticolonialism□1885-1925*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1971□□Thu Trang-Gaspard□*Ho Chi Minh à Paris*□Paris□Éditions L’Harmattan□1992□□Alain Ruscio□ed.□*Ho Chi Minh□Textes□1914-1969*□Paris□Éditions L’Harmattan□1990□□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1890□□□□□□□□1920□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1892□□1893□□□□Quinn-Judge□*Missing Years*□260n25□

[7] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pierre Brocheux and Daniel Hémery□*Indochina□An Ambiguous Colonization□1858-1954*□trans. Ly Lan Dill-Klein et al.□Berkeley□University of California Press□2009□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper□*Empires in World History□Power and the Politics of Difference*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□2010□□chaps. 10-11□□□□□□□□□□□Frederick Quinn□*The French Overseas Empire*□New York□Praeger□2001□□

[8] □□□□□□□Brocheux and Hémery□*Indochina*□14□

[9] Alice L. Conklin□*A Mission to Civilize□The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa□1895-1930*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1997□□J. P. Daughton□*An Empire Divided□Religion□Republicanism□and the Making of French Colonialism□1880-1914*□New York□Oxford University Press□2006□.

[10] Brocheux and Hémery□*Indochina*□15-33.

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Marr□*Vietnamese Anticolonialism*□William J. Duiker□*The Rise of Nationalism in Vietnam□1900-1941*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1976□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Peter Zinoman□*The Colonial Bastille□A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam□1862-1940*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2001□□

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1890□□□□□□□□□1920□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1892□1893□□□□
Quinn-Judge□*Missing Years*□260n25□

[13] Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam□A History*□New York□Viking□1983□□131.

[14] Daniel Hémery□“Jeunesse d’un colonise□genèse d’un exil□Ho Chi Minh jusqu’en 1911□” *Approches Asie*□no. 11□1992□□82-157.

[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Saigon to Foreign Office□hereafter FO□□April 10□1946□FO 959/7□The National Archives of the United Kingdom□Kew□London□hereafter TNA□.

[16] Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□10□□□□□Luu Doan Huynh□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2003□1□□

[17] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1917□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1919□□Quinn-Judge□*Missing Years*□20□□□□□□Quinn-Judge□□□□□□□□□□□□1917□1918□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[18] □□Andelman□*Shattered Peace*□128□

[19] □□Ho Chi Minh□“The Path Which Led Me to Leninism□” in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution□Selected Writings□1920-66*□ed. Bernard B. Fall□New York□Praeger□1967□□34□

[20] □□Ho Chi Minh□“The Path Which Led Me to Leninism□” in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution□Selected Writings□1920-66*□ed. Bernard B. Fall□New York□Praeger□1967□□24.

[21] Manela□*Wilsonian Moment*□6-7.

[22] Karnow□*Vietnam*□132□Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□19.

[23] □□Stanley Karnow□*Paris in the Fifties*□New York□Three Rivers Press□1997□□216□□□Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□20-21□

[24] □□Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□22□□□

[25] □□William J. Duiker□*Sacred War□Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1995□□27□

[26] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□chap. 4.

[27] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Brocheux and Hémery□*Indochina*□chap. 5□Huynh Kim Khanh□*Vietnamese Communism*□Duiker□*The Rise of Nationalism in Vietnam*□Hue-Tam Ho Tai□*Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□1992□□David G. Marr□*Vietnamese Anticolonialism*□

[28] Zinoman□*Colonial Bastille*□chap. 9.

[29] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Martin Thomas□*The French Empire Between the Wars*□*Imperialism*□*Politics*□*and Society*□Manchester□U.K.□Manchester University Press□2005□□□□Burbank and Cooper□*Empires*□388□

[30] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□242.1□2□5□11-14

[illegible] 1940[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible] “[illegible]”

[illegible]

1940[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]Marshal Philippe Pétain[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][1]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3]

[illegible]*L’Appel du 18 Juin*[illegible]·[illegible]Alexander Cadogan[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4][illegible]·[illegible]Robert Murphy[illegible]

[illegible]1890[illegible]Lille[illegible]military academy at Saint-Cyr[illegible]

[illegible]49[illegible]6[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Reynaud[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]1940[illegible]600[illegible]1554[illegible]8000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]1939[illegible]11%[illegible][6]

[illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]——

6[illegible]22[illegible]

[8][illegible]84[illegible]

1916[illegible]1940[illegible]8[illegible][9]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”6[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]proto-government[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible][11]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]

——[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1939[illegible]1938[illegible]*Are We Defended*[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][13]

“[illegible]”[illegible]Bui Diem[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Catroux[illegible]

[illegible][15][illegible]48%[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Grew[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]5[illegible]3.8[illegible]25[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]Sir Percy Noble[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible][17]

[illegible]6[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]René de Saint-Quentin[illegible]·[illegible]Sumner Welles[illegible]120[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]6[illegible]29[illegible][illegible]6[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]

[illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]Yosuke Matsuoka[illegible]“[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Decoux[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible][21]

[illegible]6[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Chauvel[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Baudouin[illegible]Bank of Indochina[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Murphy[illegible]8[illegible]22[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]1940[illegible]*National Geographic*[illegible]100[illegible]1940[illegible][24]

8[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]Maurice Martin[illegible]22[illegible]9[illegible]22[illegible]10[illegible]22[illegible]2[illegible]30[illegible]6000[illegible]2.5[illegible][25]

[illegible]22[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]Dong Dang[illegible]25[illegible]150[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible]1940[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]8000[illegible]100[illegible]1945[illegible][27]

[illegible]

[illegible]35[illegible]1941[illegible]Pac Bo[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]60[illegible]1.6[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]Hermès[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1941[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Dang Xuan Khu[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][28]

[illegible]Huynh Kim Khanh[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][29]

“[illegible]”1941[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[30][illegible]History of Our Country[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Viet Nam Doc lap*[illegible]150[illegible][31]

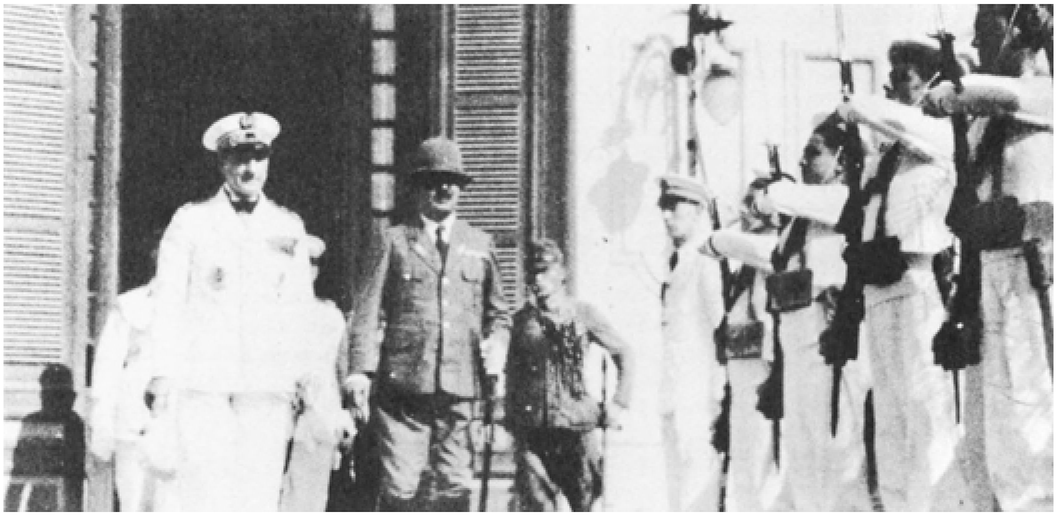
[illegible]false dichotomy[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Brocheux[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Indochinese Federation[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33]



1941[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1939[illegible]45[illegible]1944[illegible]70[illegible]14%[illegible]·[illegible]Maurice Ducuroy[illegible]The Youth and Sports organization[illegible]1944[illegible]1000[illegible]8.6[illegible]4100[illegible]——[illegible][34]

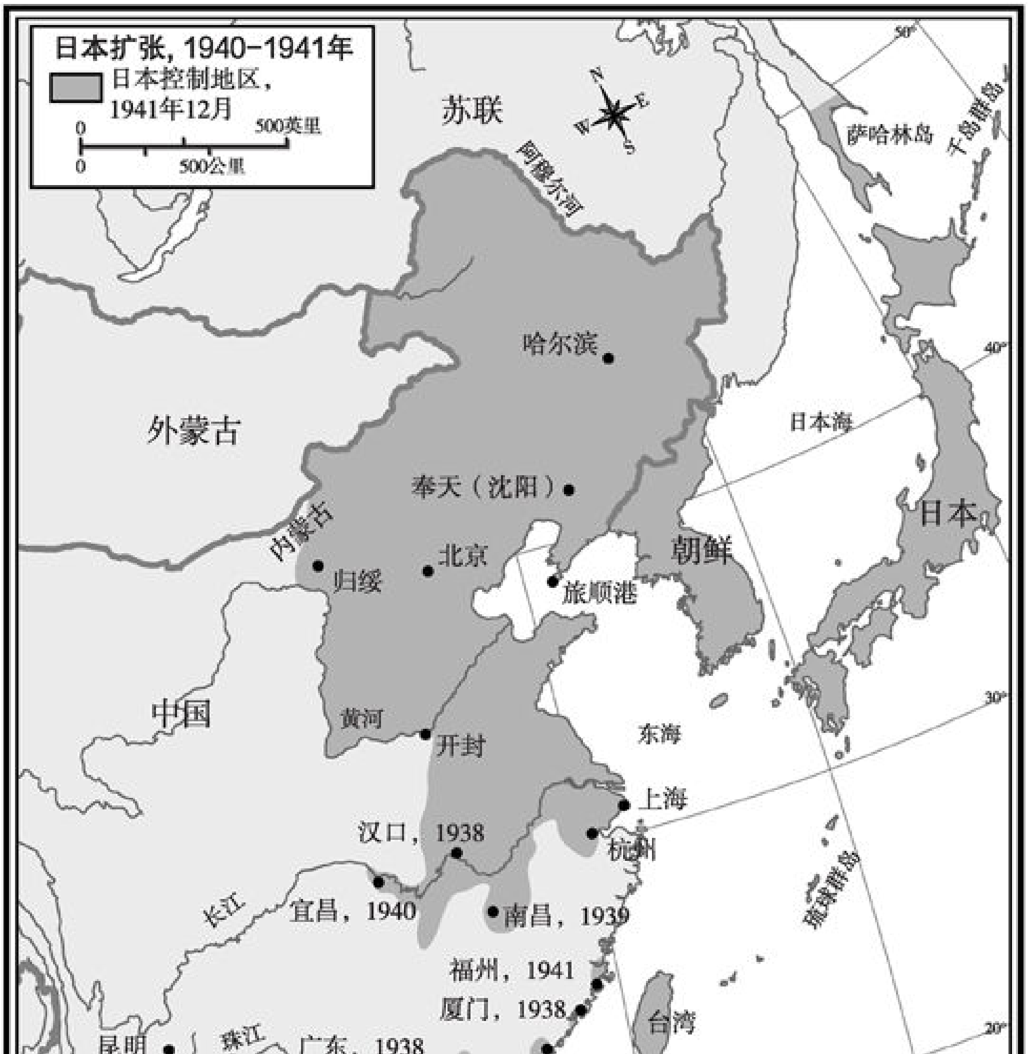
“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]
2500[illegible]”[35][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1940[illegible]1943[illegible]
17[illegible]Indochinese University[illegible]——[illegible]80[illegible]49[illegible][36]

[illegible]90%[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible]1940[illegible]9[illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]

[37]


日本扩张，1940–1941年
日本控制地区，1941年12月
0
500英里
0
500公里
苏联
阿穆尔河
萨哈林岛
千岛群岛
哈尔滨
外蒙古
日本海
奉天（沈阳）
日本
内蒙古
归绥
北京
朝鲜
旅顺港
中国
黄河
开封
东海
上海
汉口，1938
杭州
琉球群岛
长江
宜昌，1940
南昌，1939
福州，1941
厦门，1938
台湾
昆明
珠江
广东，1938
汕头，1938
南宁，1941
香港，1941
太平洋
缅甸
河内
海南，1939
法属印度支那，1941
泰国
湄公河
南海
菲律宾
西贡
文莱
英属北婆罗洲
马来亚
沙捞越
荷属东印度群岛

1941[illegible]4[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]14[illegible]10[illegible]7[illegible]25[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[38]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1941[illegible]

7[illegible]24[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[39][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

□□□□□□□□·□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Placentia Bay□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□16□□[40]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1.2□□□□□90%□□——□□□·□□Cordell Hull□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□——□□□□12□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[41]

□1940□6□□——□1941□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□12□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

---

[1] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ernest R. May□*Strange Victory□Hitler’s Conquest of France*□New York□Hill & Wang□2000□□Julian Jackson□*The Fall of France□The Nazi Invasion of 1940*□New York□Oxford University Press□2003□□

[2] □□Jean Lacouture□*De Gaulle□The Rebel□1890-1944*□New York□W.W. Norton□1990□□224□

[3] Charles de Gaulle□*Mémoires de Guerre□L'Appel□1940-1942*□Paris□Plon□1954□□78-80□David Schoenbrun□*As France Goes*□New York□Atheneum□1968□□47-48□214-15. □□Jean-Louis Crémieux-Brilhac□*La France libre□De l'appel du 18juin à la Libération*□Paris□Gallimard□1996□□

[4] Julian Jackson□*France□The Dark Years□1940-1944*□Oxford□U.K.□Oxford University Press□2001□□389.

[5] □□□Julian Jackson□*Charles De Gaulle*□London□Haus□2003□□80-81□

[6] Martin Thomas□*The French Empire Between the Wars□Imperialism□Politics and Society*□Manchester□U.K.□Manchester University Press□2007□.

[7] Charles de Gaulle□*The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle*□trans. Jonathan Griffin and Richard Howard□New York□Carroll & Graf□1998□□160.

[8] □□□1942□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[9] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Jacques Cantier and Eric Jennings□eds.□*L'Empire colonial sous Vichy*□Paris□Odile Jacob□2004□□

[10] François Kersaudy□*Churchill and de Gaulle*□New York□Atheneum□1982□□85.

[11] Andrew Shennan□*De Gaulle*□London□Longman□1993□□54□Jackson□*Dark Years*□392.

[12] Winston S. Churchill□*The Second World War*□6 vols.□London□Cassell□1948-53□□3□682.

[13] Martin Thomas□*The French Empire at War□1940-1945*□Manchester□U.K.□Manchester University Press□2007□□38.□□10□□□□□□1916□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□160□□□□

[14] Bui Diem with David Chanoff□*In the Jaws of History*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1987□□15.□□David G. Marr□*Vietnam 1945□The Quest for Power*

□Berkeley□University of California Press□1995□□79-80□Thomas A. Bass□*The Spy Who Loved Us□The Vietnam War and Pham Xuan An's Dangerous Game*□New York□Public Affairs□2009□□31□

[15] Henri Lerner□*Catroux*□Paris□Albin Michel□1991□□52-54. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Deux actes du drame indochinois*□Paris□Plon□1959□□

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Minami Yoshisawa□"The Nishihara Mission in Hanoi□July 1940□" in Saya S. Shiraishi and Motoo Furuta□eds.□*Indochina in the 1940s and 1950s*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell Southeast Asia Program□1992□□9-54□Hata Ikuhiko□"The Army's Move into Northern Indochina□" in James W. Morley□ed.□*The Fateful Choice□Japan's Advance into Southeast Asia□1939-1941*□New York□Columbia University Press□1980□□155-63□Sachiko Murakami□"Japan's Thrust into French Indochina□1940-1945□" Ph.D. dissertation□New York University□1981□□□□□□□□H. W. Brands□*Traitor to His Class□The Privileged Life and Radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*□New York□Doubleday□2008□□570□

[17] Jean Decoux□*À la barre de l'Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1949□□41-46□FO to Consul General□Saigon□□June 29□1940□FO 371/24328□TNA.

[18] Memcon Saint-Quentin and Welles□June 20□1940□in Department of State□*Foreign Relations of the United States*□hereafter FRUS□□1940□*The Far East*□Washington□D.C.□Government Printing Office□□IV□29. □□Hornbeck memorandum□June 20□1940□FRUS□1940□*Far East*□IV□29□*New York Times*□hereafter NYT□□August 2□1945□John E. Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur□The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East□1919-1945*□Kent□Oh.□Kent State University Press□1991□□196□Catroux□*Deux actes du drame indochinois*□54-55□

[19] □□□□□□□□Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur*□197-98□□□Catroux□*Deuxactes du drameindochinois*□62-66□

[20] Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 1□*From Colonialism to the Vietminh*□New York□Praeger□1967□□235□Archimedes L.A. Patti□*Why Viet Nam□Prelude to America's Albatross*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1982□□32. Yosuke Matsuoka is quoted in William Morley□*Fateful Choice*□302.

[21] Thomas□*French Empire at War*□48-49□Arthur J. Dommen□*The Indochinese Experience of the French and the Americans*□Bloomington□Indiana University Press□2001□□48.

[22] Jean Chauvel□*Commentaire*□Paris□Fayard□1971□□238-39□Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur*□203-4.

[23] Francois Charles-Roux□*Cinq mois tragiques aux affaires étrangères□21 mai-1 novembre 1940□*□Paris□Plon□1949□□255□Paul Baudouin□*The Private Diaries of Paul Baudouin*□London□Eyre and Spottiswoode□1948□□198-99□223-24.

[24] Mark Philip Bradley□*Imagining Vietnam and America□The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam□1919-1950*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2000□□45.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Anne L. Foster□*Projections of Power□The United States and Europe in Colonial Southeast Asia□1919-1941*□Durham□N.C.□Duke University Press□2010□□

[25] Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur*□208-13□Georges Gautier□*9 mars 1945□Hanoi au soleil de sang□La fin de l'Indochine française*□Paris□SPL□1978□□43-45.

[26] Hata□"Army's Move□" 194-98□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□19.

[27] David G. Marr□*Vietnamese Tradition on Trial□1920 to 1945*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1984□□400□*Histoire de la révolution d'aoǔt*□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Press□1977□□19-22.

[28] Pierre Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh□A Biography*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2007□□70-73□William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□250-57□Jean Lacouture□*Ho Chi Minh□A Political Biography*□New York□Random House□1968□□74-78.

[29] Huynh Kim Khanh□*Vietnamese Communism□1925-1945*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1982□□259-63.

[30] Ho Chi Minh□"Letter from Abroad"□1941□□in Ho Chi Minh□*Selected Works*□Hanoi□1960□□2□153.

[31] Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□74.

[32] Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□75.□□□□□□□□□□Daniel Hémery□"Ho Chi Minh□Vie singulière et nationalisation des esprits□" in Christopher E. Goscha and Benoît de Tréglodé□eds.□*Le Viêt Nam depuis 1945□États□contestations et constructions du passé*□Paris□Les Indessavantes□2004□□135-48□

[33] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Eric Jennings□*Vichy in the Tropics□Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar□Guadeloupe□and Indochina□1940-1944*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□2004□□130-98□□□Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□31□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□74□and Patti□*Why Viet Nam□*□33□

[34] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□78□Jennings□*Vichy in the Tropics*□188-94.

[35] Decoux□*À la barre de l'Indochine*□444.

[36] Jennings□*Vichy in the Tropics*□145. □□Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□86□□□□□□·□□□□Martin Thomas□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□Thomas□*French Empire at War*□196□

[37] Colonel Jacomey to Tonkin Command□May 19□1941□1K401/C1□*Service historique de l'armée de terre□Vincennes*□Richard J. Aldrich□*The Key to the South□Britain□the United States□and Thailand During the Approach of the Pacific War□1929-1942*□Oxford□U.K.□Oxford University Press□1993□□288-93□Thomas□*French Empire at War*□196-97.

[38] F. C. Jones□*Japan's New Order in East Asia□1937-1945*□Oxford□Oxford UniversityPress□1954□□260-63□Stein Tønnesson□*The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945□Roosevelt□Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War*□London□Sage□1991□□38□Dreifort□Myopic Grandeur□216.

[39] 1940□9□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□“□□□”□

[40] David M. Kennedy□*Freedom from Fear□The American People in Depression and War□1929-1945*□New York□Oxford University Press□1999□□509-11□Jean Edward Smith□*FDR*□New York□Random House□2007□□513-18.

[41] □□Jonathan Fenby□*Alliance□The Inside Story of How Roosevelt□Stalin and Churchill Won One War and Began Another*□San Francisco□MacAdam Cage□2007□□79-80□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][1]

[illegible]·S.[illegible]（Kenneth S.Davis[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Clemenceau[illegible][3]

[illegible]1941[illegible]5000[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible][4]

[illegible]

[illegible][5][illegible]Elliott[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1941[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Theodore Roosevelt[illegible][7]

[illegible]1920[illegible]League of Nations[illegible][8][illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible][9]1933[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Lippmann[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible][11]

[illegible]

1941[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1919[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Leo Amery[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][12]

1941[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][13]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[14][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1942[illegible]——[illegible]1941[illegible]12[illegible]1942[illegible]2[illegible]1942[illegible]3[illegible]1942[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1943[illegible]1940[illegible]1941[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]*Le procès de la colonisation française*[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[15]

[illegible]——[illegible]1942[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Giraud[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1943[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]Anthony Eden[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible][17]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]mandate[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]trusteeship[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][20]

[illegible]

[illegible][21]

[illegible]1943[illegible]11[illegible]Mena House Hotel[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1943[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible][22]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible][24]

[illegible]1943[illegible]12[illegible]1944[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]——“‘[illegible]’[illegible]25[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”1944[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][27]

[illegible]·[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[28][illegible]1944[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Life* magazine□□□□□□□□□
□Theodore White□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□1944□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[29]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□W.□□□□·□□□□W.Averell Harriman□□9□□□□□□“□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[30]

□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□1944□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[31]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□——“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□
□□□□□——□1944□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□
□□

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]René Pleven[illegible]10[illegible][33]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1943[illegible]Comité français de la Libération nationale[illegible]CFLN[illegible]1944[illegible]

1944[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]dialogues de sourds[illegible][34]

[illegible]“[illegible]C’est énorme[illegible]”[illegible]Waldorf Astoria[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36]

[illegible]7[illegible]150[illegible]·D.[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]6[illegible]1940[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Malcolm Muggeridge[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[37]

1944□8□26□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Philippe Leclerc□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□□□Edward Stettinius□□□□□□□·C.□□□George C.Marshall□□□10□23□□□□

□

□1944□□

[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]South East Asia Command[illegible]SEAC[illegible][38][illegible]SEAC[illegible]·[illegible]Louis Mountbatten[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Direction générale des études et recherches[illegible]12[illegible]46[illegible]“[illegible]”1945[illegible]1[illegible][39]

[illegible]·[illegible]Harry Hopkins[illegible]·[illegible]Henry Stimson[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Grew[illegible][40]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]4[illegible]——1[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][41][illegible]1945[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[42]

[illegible]1945[illegible][43][illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]USS Quincy[illegible]“‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[45]

[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]Patrick Hurley[illegible]·C.[illegible]Albert C. Wedemeyer[illegible][46]

[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47]

[illegible]1942[illegible]1943[illegible]1944[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]Charles Taussig[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]Warm Springs[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Sergio Osmeña[illegible][48]

[illegible][49][illegible]·[illegible]

---

[1] William D. Hassett[illegible]*Off the Record with F.D.R.*[illegible]*1942-1945*[illegible]New Brunswick[illegible]N.J.[illegible]Rutgers University Press[illegible]1958[illegible]166. [illegible]Robert Daniel Murphy[illegible]*Diplomat Among Warriors*[illegible]New York[illegible]Pyramid[illegible]1965[illegible]Raoul Aglion[illegible]*Roosevelt and De Gaulle*[illegible]*Allies in Conflict*[illegible]New York[illegible]Free Press[illegible]1988[illegible]Cordell Hull[illegible]*The Memoirs of Cordell Hull*[illegible]New York[illegible]Macmillan[illegible]1948[illegible]2[illegible]961-62[illegible]

[2] Kenneth S. Davis□*FDR□The War President□1940-1943*□New York□Random House□2000□□379.

[3] Mario Rossi□*Roosevelt and the French*□Westpont□Conn.□Praeger□1993□□67-68.

[4] David B. Woolner□"Storm in the Atlantic□The St. Pierre and Miquelon Affair of 1941□" M.A. thesis□McGill University□1990□Conrad Black□*Franklin Delano Roosevelt□Champion of Freedom*□New York□Public Affairs□2005□□706-10□Martin Thomas□*The French Empire at War□1940-1945*□Manchester□U.K.□Manchester University Press□2007□□133-39.

[5] □□Georges Catroux□*Dans la bataille de la Méditerranée*□Paris□Plon□1949□□278-79□

[6] Elliott Roosevelt□*As He Saw It*□New York□Duell□Sloan□& Pearce□1946□□115□Samuel I. Rosenman□ed.□*The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*□New York□Macmillan□1938-50□□10□69.

[7] Willard Range□*Franklin D. Roosevelt's World Order*□Athens□University of Georgia Press□1959□□102-4□Foster Rhea Dulles and Gerald Ridinger□"The Anti-Colonial Policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt□" *Political Science Quarterly*□March 1955□□1-18.

[8] Paul Orders□"'Adjusting to a New Period in World History'□Franklin Roosevelt and European Colonialism□" in David Ryan and Victor Pungong□eds.□*The United States and Decolonization□Power and Freedom*□New York□St. Martin's□2000□□Dulles and Ridinger□"The Anti-Colonial Policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt."

[9] Range□*Franklin D. Roosevelt's World Order*□Warren F. Kimball□*The Juggler□Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1991□□109.

[10] Walter Lippmann□*U.S. War Aims*□Boston□Little□Brown□1944□□50-51.

[11] Kimball□*Juggler*□130.

[12] Roosevelt□*As He Saw It*□37□Davis□*FDR□War President*□269-73□Martin Gilbert□*Finest Hour□Winston Churchill□1939-1941*□London□Heinemann□1983□□1163. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Niall Ferguson□*Empire□The Rise and Demise*

of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power□New York□Basic□2003□□291-94□

[13] Kimball□*Juggler*□133. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Elizabeth Borgwardt□*A New Deal for the World*□*America’s Vision for Human Rights*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2006□□14-86□

[14] Winston Churchill□*The Second World War*□vol. 4□*The Hinge of Fate*□Boston□Houghton Miffl in□1950□□209.

[15] Foreign Ministry Report□“L’Amerique et les colonies□” March 12□1945□Y-International□file 655□Ministère des affaires étrangères□Paris□hereafter MAE□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□*Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□24-25□□□□□Jasmine Aimaq□*For Europe or Empire*□*French Colonial Ambitions and the European Army Plan*□Lund□Sweden□Lund University Press□1996□□101□

[16] Jean Lacouture□*De Gaulle*□*The Rebel*□*1890-1944*□New York□W.W. Norton□1990□□1□394-402□Warren F. Kimball□*Forged in War*□*Roosevelt*□*Churchill*□*and the Second World War*□New York□William Morrow□1998□□173-74.

[17] Memo-Hopkins□Eden visit□March 27□1943□Box 138□Harry Hopkins Papers□FDR Library.

[18] Minutes of Subcommittee on Political Problems□April 10□1943□quoted in Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□*From World War II Through Dienbienphu*□New York□W.W. Norton□1989□□25. □□John B. Judis□*The Folly of Empire*□New York□Oxford University Press□2006□□124-25□

[19] Edward M. Bennett□“Mandates and Trusteeships□” in Alexander DeConde□Richard Dean Burns□and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*□New York□Scribner□2002□□2□381-86.

[20] Kimball□*Juggler*□131.

[21] Robert Dallek□*Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy*□*1932-1945*□New York□Oxford University Press□1979□□428-29□Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□22-23.

[22] Gaddis Smith□*American Diplomacy During the Second World War*□2nd ed.□New York□McGraw-Hill□1985□□93.

[23] *FRUS□The Conferences at Cairo and Tehran□1943*□448-50□484-86.

[24] *FRUS□Cairo and Tehran*□509-68 passim□Kimball□*Juggler*□143.□□William Roger Louis□*Imperialism at Bay□The United States and the Decolonization of the British Empire□1941-1945*□Oxford□Oxford University Press□1977□□283-86□Akira Iriye□*Power and Culture□The Japanese-American War□1941-1945*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□1981□□158-63□Gary Hess□*The United States' Emergence as a Southeast Asian Power□1940-1950*□New York□Columbia University Press□1987□□81-82.

[25] Hess□*United States' Emergence*□89-90. FDR quoted in Washington to FO□January 19□1944□FO 371/41723□TNA.

[26] Cadogan minute□on minute by Strang□January 12□1944□FO 371/1878□TNA.□□Eden to PM□December 23□1943□CAB 121/741□TNA□

[27] □□□□□·□□□1944□2□16□□□□□□□□□□□□CAB 121/741□TNA□□□□□Kimball□*Forged in War*□302-3□

[28] □□Ted Morgan□*Valley of Death□The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu That LedAmerica into the Vietnam War*□New York□Random House□2010□□25□□□David Stafford□*Roosevelt and Churchill□Men of Secrets*□Woodstock□N.Y.□Overlook□2000□□256□

[29] □□□□□□□□□□□Walter LaFeber□“Roosevelt□Churchill□and Indochina□1942-1945□” *American Historical Review* 80□December 1975□□1288□

[30] 1944□9□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□Harriman file□Box 96□Hopkins Papers□FDR Library.

[31] □□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□52-58□

[32] Charles de Gaulle□*The War Memoirs*□vol. 3□*Salvation□1944-1946*□London□Weidenfeld& Nicolson□1950□□187.

[33] Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□31-32.

[34] Jonathan Fenby□*Alliance□The Inside Story of How Roosevelt□Stalin and Churchill Won One War and Began Another*□San Francisco□MacAdam Cage□2007□□287-88□Aglion□*Roosevelt and De Gaulle*□177-78.

[35] Aglion□*Roosevelt and De Gaulle*□180-81□Lacouture□*De Gaulle*□1□537-45.

[36] □□□□□□1945□7□11□□

[37] □□□□□□□Alistair Horne□*La Belle France□A Short History*□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□2005□□375□

[38] □□□□□□□August 25□1944□FO 371/41719□TNA□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Massigli to Foreign Ministry□October 2□1944□Asie/Indochine□file 45□MAE□

[39] Mark Lawrence□“Forging the ‘Great Combination’□Britain and the Indochina Problem□1945-1950□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□105-29.

[40] □□□□□□□□□1945□1□4□□Record Group 59□Box 6177□National Archives and Records Administration□hereafter NARA□□LaFeber□“Roosevelt□Churchill□and Indochina□” 1291□Christopher G. Thorne□*Allies of a Kind□The United States□Britain□and the War Against Japan*□London□Hamish Hamilton□1978□□94□

[41] □□□□□□□□□□1945□1□9□□FO 371/46304□TNA□

[42] Rosenman□ed.□*Papers and Addresses of Roosevelt*□13□562-63. □□Thorne□*Allies of a Kind*□628□

[43] □□□□□□□George C. Herring□*America’s Longest War□The United States and Vietnam□1950-1975*□4th ed.□New York□McGraw-Hill□2002□□10□

[44] □□Rossi□*Roosevelt and French*□144□

[45] J. G. Ward minute□February 17□1945□FO 371/46304□TNA. □□Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□50-52□

[46] Jim Bishop□*FDR’s Last Year□April 1944-April 1945*□New York□William Morrow□1974□□491-92□Stein Tønnesson□“Franklin Roosevelt□Trusteeship□and Indochina□” in Lawrence and Logevall□eds.□*First Vietnam War*□66. □□□*The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945□Roosevelt□Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War*□London□Sage□1991□□

[47] De Gaulle quoted in H. W. Brands□*Traitor to His Class□The Privileged Life and Radical Presidency of Franklin Delano Roosevelt*□New York□Doubleday□2008□□814.

[48] Kimball□*Juggler*□154.

[49] □□□□□□1945□□□-□
□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible] [illegible]

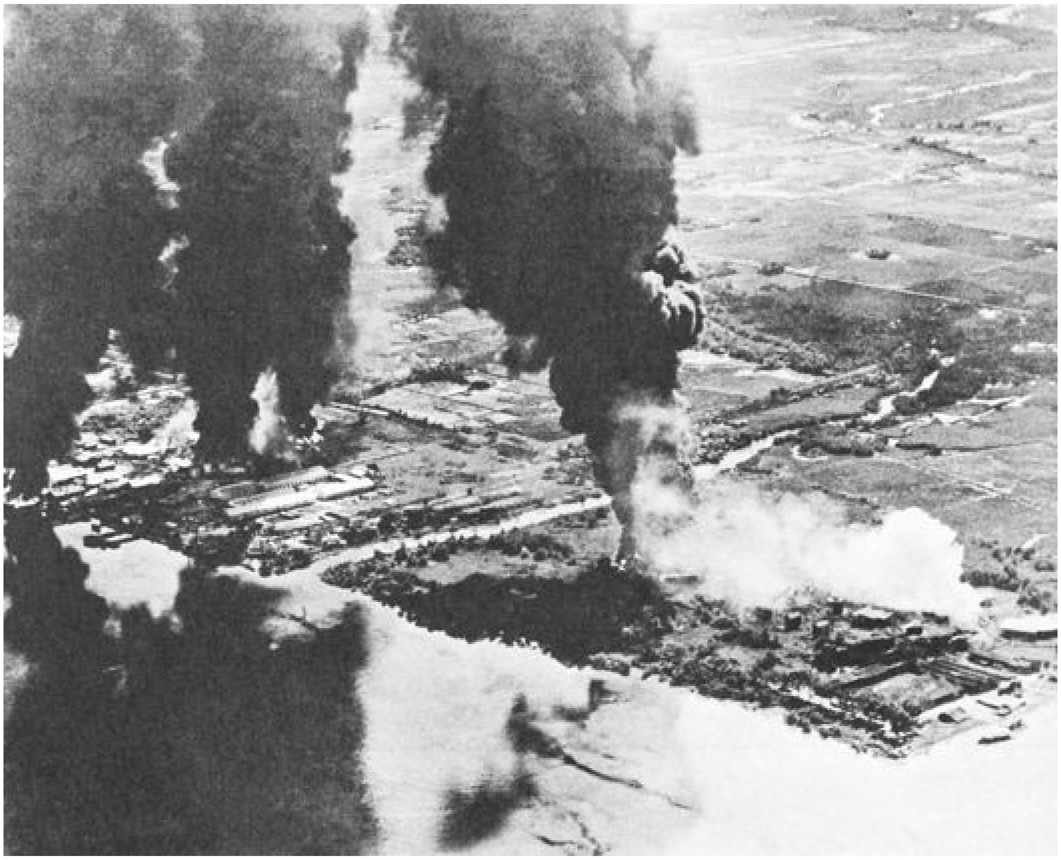
[illegible]

1945[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible][1]

[illegible]1940[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]8[illegible]45[illegible]9[illegible]9[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Bright Moon[illegible]1944[illegible]10[illegible][3][illegible]·[illegible]·L.[illegible]Claire L. Chennault[illegible]14[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]·F.[illegible]William F. Halsey[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□38□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□



□□□□□□□□□1945□1□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□1□17□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□2□11□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□”□3□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□□3□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□48□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6.5□□□□□□□□□□□□6□□□□□□1.2□□□□□□□□□[4]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible][5]

[illegible]——[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]Eugène Mordant[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Aymé[illegible]Cessez le feu[illegible]3[illegible]10[illegible]87[illegible]100[illegible]115[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]·[illegible]Marcel Alessandri[illegible]2000[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Gabriel Sabattier[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]5700[illegible]——[illegible]2400[illegible]——[illegible][9]

[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1940[illegible]1941[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10][illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]1.2[illegible]2300[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible][11]

[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible][12]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]3[illegible]20[illegible][14]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]Hettier de Boislambert[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Gaston Monnerville[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[15]

[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]Jean-Paul Sartre[illegible]“[illegible]”[16][illegible]

[illegible]Michelin Tire and Rubber Company[illegible]1940[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][17]

[illegible]3[illegible]24[illegible][18][illegible]1944[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][19]

[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Laurentie[illegible]·[illegible]Léon Pignon[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21]

“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Buttinger[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]

[illegible]1941[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]1945[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][23]

[illegible]1943[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1944[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]Soc Giang[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Louis Arnoux[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]1942[illegible]8[illegible]18[illegible]1943[illegible]8[illegible]1944[illegible]——[illegible]Vietnam Revolutionary League[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]50[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]1944[illegible]

[illegible][26][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible][28]

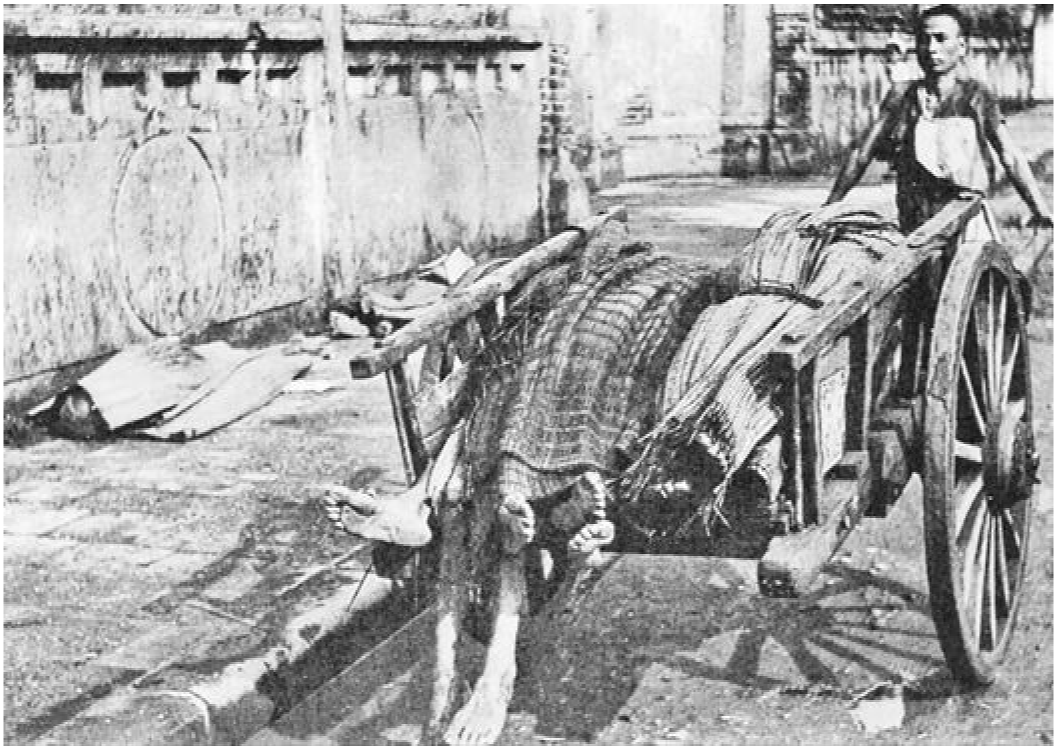
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]30%[illegible]1941[illegible]1944[illegible]19%[illegible]10[illegible][30]

1945[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]

□□□——□□□□□□□□□□——□□Nam Dinh□□□□□□□Duong Thieu Chi□□[31]

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[32]



1944□1945□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□380969□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□□□□□□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□5□□□□□200□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□□□□□

[illegible]10%[illegible]Thai Binh[illegible]Hai Duong[illegible]Kien An[illegible][33]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Vietnamese Liberation Army[illegible]5[illegible]5000[illegible][34]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]GBT[illegible]1944[illegible][35][illegible][36]

[illegible]——[illegible]Office of Strategic Services[illegible]OSS[illegible]·[illegible]Charles Fenn[illegible]

[illegible]*Encyclopedia Americana*[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][37]

3[illegible]17[illegible]Dragon’s Gate Café[illegible]Pham Van Dong[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]Baudelaire[illegible]”[38]

[illegible]

> [illegible]
>
> [illegible][39]

[illegible]——[illegible]Indochina Café[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]14[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]51[illegible]“[illegible]·L.[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]4[illegible][42][illegible]Mac Shinn[illegible][43]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Deer Mission[illegible]7[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]Allison Thomas[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Tan Trao[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]200[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[44]

[illegible]

[illegible][45][illegible]“OSS19[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]**René Défourneaux**[illegible]

8[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]·[illegible]”[46]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]
“[illegible]”[47]

[illegible]4[illegible]12[illegible]·S.[illegible]1944[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·F.[illegible]James F. Byrnes[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee[illegible]——[illegible]National Security Council[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Office of Far Eastern Affairs[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Carter Vincent[illegible]Southwest Pacific Affairs Division[illegible]Southeast Asian Affairs Division[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Abbot Low Moffat[illegible]·[illegible]26[illegible][48]

[illegible]1945[illegible][49]

4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Ronald Spector[illegible][50]

[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Bidault[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]James Dunn[illegible]·[illegible][51][illegible]Eleanor Roosevelt[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

7[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53]

[illegible]——[illegible]16[illegible][54]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]1940[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][55]

---

[1] Jean Decoux□*À la barre de l’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1949□□328.

[2] David G. Marr□*Vietnam 1945□The Quest for Power*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1995□□13□55-56□Stein Tønnesson□*The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945□Roosevelt□Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War*□London□Sage□1991□□221□Decoux□*À la barre del’Indochine*□328.

[3] [illegible]

[4] “[illegible]”[illegible]SRS 306□1945□1□20□□MAGIC Far East Summaries□Box 4□Record Group 457□NARA□Stein Tønnesson□“Franklin Roosevelt□Trusteeship□and Indochina□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□65-66□G. Sabbatier□*Le Destin del’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1952□□138-39□

[5] John E. Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur□The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East□1919-1945*□Kent□Oh.□Kent State University Press□1991□□239.

[6] Bernard B. Fall□*Last Reflections on a War□Bernard B. Fall’s Last Comments on Vietnam*□New York□Doubleday□1967□□130□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□59□Duong Van Mai Elliott□*The Sacred Willow□Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*□New York□Oxford University Press□2000□□110.

[7] Tønnesson□*Vietnamese Revolution of 1945*□242-43.

[8] Douglas Porch□*The French Foreign Legion□A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force*□New York□HarperCollins□1991□□512□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□59.

[9] Sabbatier□*Le Destin*□Tønnesson□*Vietnamese Revolution of 1945*□239□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□326-27.

[10] Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□41□Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□110.

[11] John T. McAlister□Jr.□*Viet Nam□The Origins of Revolution*□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□1969□□114-15□Tønnesson□*Vietnamese Revolution of 1945*□244.

[12] Martin Shipway□*The Road to War□France and Vietnam□1944-1947*□Providence□R.I.□Berghahn□1996□□68□Robert Gildea□*France Since 1945*□New York□Oxford University Press□1996□□17□Mark Mazower□*Dark Continent□Europe’s Twentieth Century*□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□1998□□209-10.

[13] Christopher G. Thorne□*Allies of a Kind□The United States□Britain□and the War Against Japan*□London□Hamish Hamilton□1978□□621□Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur*□241□Marr□Vietnam 1945□327□Hammer□*Struggle for Indochina*□43.

[14] Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 1□*From Colonialism to the Vietminh*□New York□Praeger□1967□□302□D. Bruce Marshall□*The French Colonial Myth and Constitution-Making in the Fourth Republic*□New Haven□Conn.□Yale University Press□1973□□193.

[15] Frédéric Turpin□“Le RPF et la guerre d’Indochine□1947-1954□□” in *De Gaulle et le Rassemblement du PeupleFrançais□1947-1955□*□Paris□Armand Colin□1998□□530-31□Marshall□*French Colonial Myth*□195.

[16] □□Tony Judt□*Postwar□A History of Europe Since 1945*□New York□Penguin□2005□□100□

[17] Shipway□*Road to War*□chap. 2□Hammer□*Struggle for Indochina*□44.

[18] □□□□□Philippe Devillers□*Paris-Saigon-Hanoi□Les archives de la guerre□1944-1947*□Paris□Gallimard/Julliard□1988□□53-54□

[19] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□329.

[20] Martin Thomas□*The French Empire at War□1940-1945*□Manchester□U.K.□Manchester University Press□2007□□213□Hammer□*Struggle for Indochina*□43-44□Philippe Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□144.

[21] Shipway□*Road to War*□60□Frederick Quinn□*French Overseas Empire*□NewYork□Praeger□2000□□233.

[22] Tønnesson□*Vietnamese Revolution of 1945*□315□Shipway□*Road to War*□126□Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□303.

[23] David G.Marr□*Vietnamese Tradition on Trial□1920 to 1945*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1984□□415-16□David W. P. Elliott□*The Vietnamese War□Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975*□Armonk□N.Y.□M.E. Sharpe□2007□□33□Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□294.

[24] □□□□Pierre Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh□A Biography*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2007□□83-85□

[25] William J. Duiker□"Ho Chi Minh and the Strategy of People's War□" in Lawrence and Logevall□eds.□*First Vietnam War*□158-59.□□□□□□Brocheaux□*Ho ChiMinh*□83□

[26] Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□111.

[27] □□□□□□Hoang Van Hoan□*A Drop in the Ocean□Hoang Van Hoan's Revolutionary Reminiscences*□Beijing□Foreign Languages Press□1988□□187-88□

[28] Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□112-13□Marr□*Vietnamese Tradition*□416□William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□296.

[29] Marr□*Vietnamese Tradition*□408□William J. Duiker□*Sacred War□Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1995□□

45.

[30] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□96□Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□107.

[31] MotooFuruta□“A Survey of Village Conditions During the 1945 Famine in Vietnam□” in Paul H. Kratoska□ed.□*Food Supplies and the Japanese Occupation in South-East Asia*□Houndsmills□U.K.□Macmillan□1998□□236-37□Nguyen ThiAnh□“Japanese Food Policies and the 1945 Great Famine in Indochina□” in Kratoska□*Food Supplies*□211-21□Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□107-8□and Marr□*Vietnam1945*□101. □□Robert Templer□*Shadows and Wind□A View of Modern Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1998□□48ff□

[32] Ngo Vinh Long□*Before the Revolution□The Vietnamese Peasants under the French*□New York□Columbia University Press□1991□□133.

[33] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□104.

[34] Nguyen ThiAnh□“Japanese Food Policies□” 221□Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□113□William J. Duiker□*The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam*□Boulder□Colo.□Westview□1996□□90□Templer□*Shadows and Wind*□50.

[35] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Laurence Gordon□□□□·□□□□Harry Bernard□□□□□·□□Frank Tan□□□□GBT□□□□□□□□□Dixee R. Bartholomew-Feis□*The OSS and Ho Chi Minh□Unexpected Allies in the War Against Japan*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2006□□63-94□

[36] Marr□*Vietnamese Tradition*□407□William J. Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□28.

[37] Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II through Dienbienphu*□New York□W.W. Norton□1989□□62□Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□113.

[38] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Bartholomew-Feis□*OSS and Ho Chi Minh*□154-55□

[39] Charles Fenn□*Ho Chi Minh□A Biographical Introduction*□New York□Charles Scribner’s Sons□1973□□132.

[40] Bartholomew-Feis□*OSS and Ho Chi Minh*□156-57□Fenn□*Ho Chi Minh*□75-77.

[41] Fenn□*Ho Chi Minh*□76-78□Bartholomew-Feis□*OSS and Ho Chi Minh*□156-57.

[42] □□□Jiangxi□□□Jingxi□

[43] Tran Trong Trung oral history□Hanoi□June 12□2007□□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□□□□Gary Hess□*The United States' Emergence as a Southeast Asian Power□1940-1950*□New York□Columbia University Press□1987□□170□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□293-94□

[44] □□Bartholomew-Feis□□□□□*OSS and Ho Chi Minh*□193-205□□□René J. Défourneaux□*The Winking Fox□Twenty-two Years in Military Intelligence*□Indianapolis□ICA□2000□□134-96□Lisle Rose□*Roots of Tragedy□The United States and the Struggle for Asia□1945-1953*□Westport□Conn.□Greenwood□1976□□53-54□

[45] □□Bartholomew-Feis□*OSS and Ho Chi Minh*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Henry Prunier□□□□□□Christian G.Appy□*Patriots□The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*□New York□Viking□2003□□38-41□

[46] René J. Défourneaux□"A Secret Encounter with Ho Chi Minh□" *Look*□August 9□1966□32-33□Bartholomew-Feis□*OSS and Ho Chi Minh*□205-15□Tran Trong Trung oral history□Hanoi□June 12□2007. □□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□□□

[47] □□Robert Shaplen□*The Lost Revolution□The U.S. in Vietnam□1946-1966*□New York□Harper & Row□1966□□35□

[48] Ronald H. Spector□*In the Ruins of Empire□The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia*□New York□Random House□2007□□96-101□T. O. Smith□*Britain and the Origins of the Vietnam War□U.K. Policy in Indo-China□1943-1950*□New York□Palgrave Macmillan□2007□□21-33.

[49] □□□□□□□□□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□68-74□□□*Causes□Origins□and Lessons of the Vietnam War*□Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Relations□U.S. Senate□92nd Cong.□2nd sess.□June 9-11□1972□Washington□D.C.□Government Printing Office□1973□□167□175-76□

[50] Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□45.

[51] □□□□·□□□□□□□□□□

[52] Spector□*Advice and Support*□45□Hess□*United States’Emergence*□152-53□Thorne□*Allies of a Kind*□95.

[53] Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur*□248-49.

[54] Dreifort□*Myopic Grandeur*□249-50.

[55] □□□□□□□1945□9□16□□Charles de Gaulle□*The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle*□*trans. Jonathan Griffin and Richard Howard*□New York□Carroll & Graf□1998□□926□

[illegible] “[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]19[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]St.Joseph’s Cathedral[illegible]·[illegible]Gustave Eiffel[illegible]·[illegible]1700[illegible]·[illegible]rue Paul Bert[illegible]20[illegible][1]

[illegible]·G.[illegible]Henry G.Bryant[illegible]1909[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Harry Franck[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]“[illegible]Bac Ninh[illegible]Son Tay[illegible]Hoa Binh[illegible]”[illegible]Vu Trong Phung[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][3]

8[illegible]26[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]55[illegible]40[illegible]25[illegible][4]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[5]

[illegible][6][illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]8[illegible]19[illegible]1873[illegible]·[illegible]Francis Garnier[illegible]8[illegible]25

[illegible][7]

[illegible]

> [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[9]

1945[illegible]**8**[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Dai Viet[illegible]8[illegible]29[illegible][10]

9[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]Tokyo Bay[illegible]——[illegible]Democratic Republic of Vietnam[illegible]DRV[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]——[illegible]24[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Tran Trung Thanh[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Tran Duy Hung[illegible]“[illegible]40[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]80[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][16]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]

[illegible]Bui Diem[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]·L.[illegible]Archimedes L.Patti[illegible]8[illegible]22[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Sainteny[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]Metropole Hotel[illegible]——[illegible]9[illegible]26[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][19]

[illegible]1945[illegible]4[illegible]Chesterfields[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[22]

1945[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]JFK[illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]——[illegible][25]

[illegible]8[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

8[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]*Newsweek*[illegible]·[illegible]Harold Isaacs[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1942[illegible][28]

[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][29]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Josip Broz Tito[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]Deuxième Bureau[illegible]
[illegible]MI5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]979[illegible]17[illegible]16[illegible]2300[illegible]1.7[illegible]9[illegible]C-47[illegible]16[illegible][33]

[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]·E.[illegible]Philip E.Gallagher[illegible]9[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]50[illegible]·[illegible]Duong Van Mai Elliott[illegible]“[illegible]Giu[illegible]”[35]

[illegible]16[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible][36][illegible][37]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ve Quoc Doan[illegible][38]

9[illegible]14[illegible][39]

[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]

[illegible][40]

[illegible]1945[illegible]100[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1883[illegible]——[illegible]1856[illegible]270[illegible]the Continental[illegible]the Majestic[illegible]——[illegible][41]

[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Barrelon[illegible]1893[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[illegible][42]

52[illegible]Tran Van Giau[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]22[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Cédile[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][43]

[illegible]20[illegible]9[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][45]

[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Douglas Gracey[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]Ernest Bevin[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[46]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]13[illegible]C-47[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[47]

[illegible]9[illegible]21[illegible]——[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□23□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□300□□“□□□□3□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□300□□□□□□□□□□□□[48]

1945□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]·[illegible]Germaine Krull[illegible]9[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]7[illegible]14[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][49]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]24[illegible]25[illegible][50][illegible][51]

[illegible]1946[illegible]——1945[illegible]9[illegible]23[illegible]——[illegible][52]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”

[illegible][53]

[illegible]·A.[illegible]Peter A.Dewey[illegible]*Chicago Daily News*[illegible]1943[illegible]

[illegible]1944[illegible]Jedburgh[illegible]1940[illegible]28[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][54][illegible]9[illegible]26[illegible]·[illegible]Herbert Bluechel[illegible][55]

[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[56]

[illegible]

[illegible]200[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible][57]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][58][illegible]Jacques Philippe de Hauteclocque[illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1942[illegible]2500[illegible]2400[illegible]1944[illegible]8[illegible]26[illegible]78[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]23[illegible]25[illegible]The Dau Mot[illegible]25[illegible]10[illegible]29[illegible]11[illegible]1[illegible]Vinh Long[illegible]Can Tho[illegible]11[illegible]19[illegible]68[illegible]54[illegible]79[illegible]1000[illegible]3000[illegible][59]

[illegible]10[illegible]4500[illegible]8[illegible]12[illegible]16[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]George Wickes[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[60]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][61]

[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]David Marr[illegible]——[illegible][62][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Thierry d’Argenlieu[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□10□31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

---

[1] William S. Logan□*Hanoi□Biography of a City*□Seattle□University of Washington Press□2000□□77.

[2] William S. Logan□*Hanoi□Biography of a City*□Seattle□University of Washington Press□2000□□95-96.

[3] Mark Sidel□*Old Hanoi*□New York□Oxford University Press□1999□□27.

[4] William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□316□David G. Marr□*Vietnam 1945□The Quest for Power*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1995□□489.

[5] William J. Duiker□*Sacred War□Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1995□□48□□□Bui Diem with David Chanoff□*In the Jaws of History*□Boston□Houghton Miffl in□1987□□33-36□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□

[7] Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 1□*From Colonialism to the Vietminh*□New York□Praeger□1967□□210□Duiker□*Sacred War*□48□Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam□A History*□2nd ed.□New York□Penguin□1997□□162.

[8] Xuan Phuong and Danièle Mazingarbe□*Ao Dai□My War□My Country□My Vietnam*□Great Neck□N.Y.□EMQUAD□2004□□53-54.

[9] Gilbert Pilleul□ed.□*De Gaulle et l’Indochine□1940-1946*□Paris□Plon□1982□□193.

[10] François Guillemot□“Viêt Nam 1945-1946□L’élimination de l’opposition nationaliste et anticolonialistedans la Nord□Au coeur de la fracture vietnamienne□” in Christopher E. Goscha and Benoît de Tréglodé□eds.□*Le Viêt Nam depuis 1945□États□contestations et constructions du passé*□Paris□Les Indessavantes□2004□□1-9□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□316-17.

[11] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□529-31.

[12] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□532.

[13] Bernard B. Fall□ed.□*Ho Chi Minh on Revolution□Selected Writings□1920-1966*□New York□Praeger□1967□□53-56.

[14] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□536.

[15] *Vietnam□A Television History*□episode 1□"Roots of a War□" PBS□transcript.

[16] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□330□Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□365.

[17] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□368.

[18] Bui Diem□*In the Jaws of History*□38.

[19] Archimedes L. A. Patti□*Why Viet Nam□Prelude to America's Albatross*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1981□□198□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□318□Françoise Martin□*Heures tragiques au Tonkin*□Paris□Éditions Berger□1948□□152□Jean Sainteny□*Histoire d'une paix manquée□Indochine 1945-1947*□Paris□Amiot-Dumont□1953□□71-77.

[20] Michael Maclear□*The Ten Thousand Day War*□New York□Avon□1982□□12□Patti□*Why Viet Nam*□□223-24. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□René J. Défourneaux□*The Winking Fox□Twenty-two Years in Military Intelligence*□Indianapolis□ICA□2000□□197-202□

[21] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□500.

[22] Patti to Indiv□September 2□1945□Record Group 226□Box 199□NARA□Mark Philip Bradley□*Imagining Vietnam and America□The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam□1919-1950*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2000□□134-35□Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□57.

[23] September 19□1945□FO 371/49088□TNA.

[24] August 16□1945□FO 371/49088□TNA. See also Antony Beevor□*Paris□After the Liberation□1944-1949*□rev. ed.□London□Penguin□2004□□206-7.

[25] Jean Lacouture□*De Gaulle□The Ruler□1945-1970*□New York□W.W. Norton□1992□□64□Charles de Gaulle□*The Complete War Memoirs of Charles de Gaulle*□trans. Jonathan Griffin and Richard Howard□New York□Carroll & Graf□1998□□910.

[26] Lisle Rose□*Roots of Tragedy□The United States and the Struggle for Asia□1945-1953*□Westport□Conn.□Greenwood□1976□□51-52□Lacouture□*De Gaulle*□64□De Gaulle□*War Memoirs*□910-11.

[27] Harold R. Isaacs□*No Peace for Asia*□New York□Macmillan□1947□□232-34. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□1981□□□□□□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□last accessed on November 12□2010□□□□Bui Diem□*In the Jaws of History*□34□38□

[28] Isaacs□*No Peace for Asia*□233-34.

[29] □□□□□□Paul Kattenburg□*The Vietnam Trauma in American Foreign Policy□1945-75*□New Brunswick□N.J.□Transaction□1980□□14□

[30] □□Ronald H. Spector□*In the Ruins of Empire□The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia*□New York□Random House□2007□□114□

[31] Maclear□*Ten Thousand Day War*□11.

[32] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□488-89.

[33] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□491□492.

[34] Bui Diem□*In the Jaws of History*□39□Patti□*Why Viet Nam□*□284□Phuong and Mazingarbe□*Ao Dai*□54-55.

[35] Duong Van Mai Elliott□*The Sacred Willow□Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*□New York□Oxford University Press□2000□□131.

[36] □□□□□□□□□□□7□□□□□□□□□

[37] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□327-28□Jacques Dalloz□*The War in Indo-China□1945-1954*□New York□Barnes & Noble□1990□□56.

[38] David G. Marr□"Creating Defense Capacity in Vietnam□1945-1947□" in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□88.

[39] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□329□Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□133.

[40] David W. P. Elliott□*The Vietnamese War□Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975*□Armonk□N.Y.□M.E. Sharpe□2007□□chap. 4□Hammer□*Struggle for Indochina*□106□Frances FitzGerald□*Fire in the Lake□The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1972□□71-74.

[41] Norman Sherry□*The Life of Graham Greene*□vol. 2□*1939-1955*□New York□Viking□1995□□365.

[42] □□Andrew Forbes□"Graham Greene's Saigon Revisited□" *CPAmedia.com*□http□//www.cpamedia.com/articles/20051020_01/□last accessed on July 20□2010□□

[43] Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□218□Robert Shaplen□*The Lost Revolution□The U.S. in Vietnam□1946-1966*□New York□Harper & Row□1966□□6□Huynh Van Thieng interview□1981□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□last accessed on November 24□2010□.

[44] Peter Dennis□*Troubled Days of Peace□Mountbatten and South East Asia Command□1945-1946*□New York□St. Martin's□1987□□40.

[45] M. E. Dening to FO□September 10□1945□WO203□TNA□M. E. Dening to FO□September 25□1945□FO 371/46308□TNA. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mark Atwood Lawrence□"Forging the Great Combination□Britain and the Indochina Problem□1945-1950□" in Lawrence and Logevall□eds.□*First Vietnam War*□111-17□Peter Neville□*Britain in Vietnam□Prelude to Disaster□1945-1946*□London□Routledge□2007□□

[46] John Saville□*The Politics of Continuity□British Foreign Policy and the Labour Government□1945-46*□London□Verso□1993□□177-78□John Springhall□"Kicking Out the Viet Minh□How Britain Allowed France to Reoccupy South Indochina□1945-46□" *Journal of Contemporary History* 40□2005□□128. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Peter M. Dunn□*The First Vietnam War*□New York□St. Martin's□1985□□esp. 169-72□186-88□

[47] J. F. Cairns□*The Eagle and the Lotus□Western Intervention in Vietnam□1847-1968*□Melbourne□Australia□Lansdowne Press□1969□□29. Neville□*Britain in Vietnam*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[48] John Keay□*Empire's End□A History of the Far East from High Colonialism to Hong Kong*□New York□Scribner□1997□□278□Saigon Control Commission□

“Political Report□13th September□1945□to 9th October□1945□” Gracey 4/8□Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives□King’s College London□UK.

[49] Germaine Krull□“Diary of Saigon□following the Allied occupation in September 1945□” WOS Special File□Record Group 59□Lot File 59 D 190□Box 9□NARA.

[50] Cité Herault□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[51] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□541□Springhall□“Kicking Out the Viet Minh□” 122.

[52] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Vo Nguyen Giap□*Chien Dau trong vong vay*□Hanoi□NhaXuat Ban QuanDoiNhan Dan □People’s Army of Vietnam Publishing House□□1995□□22-23□Vo Nguyen Giap□*Mémoires 1946-1954*□vol. 1□*La résistance encerclée*□Fontenay-sous-Bois□Anako□2003-4□□27□

[53] Harold Isaacs□“Indo-China□A Fight for Freedom□” *New Republic*□February 3□1947.

[54] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Huynh Van Thieng□□□□

[55] George Wickes□“Saigon 1945□” unpublished ms. in author’s possession□p. 6□Bluechel interview□Karnow□*Vietnam*□151□Rose□*Roots of Tragedy*□61.

[56] Dixee R. Bartholomew-Feis□*The OSS and Ho Chi Minh□Unexpected Allies in the War Against Japan*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2006□□288-99. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Spector□*In the Ruins of Empire*□131□

[57] □□□□□□□1945□10□1□□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□149□Saigon Control Commission□“Political Report”□

[58] □□□□□□□

[59] Christopher E. Goscha□“Belated Asian Allies□The Technical and Military Contributions of Japanese Deserters□1945-50□□” in Marilyn B. Young and Robert Buzzanco□eds.□*A Companion to the Vietnam War*□London□Blackwell□2002□□37-64□John T. McAlister□Jr.□*Viet Nam□The Origins of Revolution*□Princeton□N.J.□Center for International Studies□Princeton University□1969□□212□Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□150.

[60] Wickes□“Saigon 1945□” 11-12.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[61] Anthony Clayton□*The Wars of French Decolonization*□London□Longman□1994□□127□J. Davidson□*Indo-China*□*Signposts in the Storm*□Hong Kong□Longman□1979□□42.

[62] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□1.

[illegible] [illegible] 1946[illegible]1949[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

1889[illegible]8[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Olivier Thierry d’Argenlieu[illegible]·[illegible]1906[illegible]Carmelite Order[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible][1]

[illegible]1940[illegible][2]

[illegible]1945[illegible]10[illegible]31[illegible]56[illegible]Norodom Palace[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible][3]

[illegible]1946[illegible]

1946[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible][4]

1946[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][5]

[illegible]10%[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][6]

[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]80[illegible]

[illegible]2000[illegible]370[illegible][7]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]10[illegible][8]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]2000[illegible][9]

[illegible]·[illegible]Maurice Thorez[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible][10]

[illegible]16[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]10[illegible]12[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]8[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]*Histoire d’une paix manquée*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]35[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]French École Coloniale[illegible]1933[illegible]1936[illegible]·[illegible]Lycée Albert Sarraut[illegible]——[illegible][12]

[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][13]

[illegible]1946[illegible]1[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1946[illegible]1[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Felix Gouin[illegible]

[illegible][14][illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Bernard Fall[illegible]1946[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]100[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]28[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Bentré[illegible]16[illegible]2[illegible]27[illegible]——[illegible]2.1[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]35[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]16[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]

[illegible]·[illegible]Raoul Salan[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]“3[illegible]6[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Republic of Vietnam[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]2.5[illegible][18][illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]

[illegible]8[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]12[illegible]16[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]·[illegible]Frank White[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]80%[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]

3[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]1946[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Ministère de l’Outre-mer[illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Section française de l’Internationale ouvrière[illegible]SFIO[illegible]Parti communiste français[illegible]PCF[illegible]Mouvement républicain populaire[illegible]MRP[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible][24]

[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[26]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□1□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□24□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□3□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[27]□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Biarritz□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1940□6□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□Briatou□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”[28]

1946[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]France-Vietnam Association[illegible]·[illegible]Emmanuel Mounier[illegible]·[illegible]Pablo Picasso[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Rivet[illegible]·[illegible]François Mauriac[illegible][29]

[illegible]·[illegible]Jacques Dumaine[illegible]7[illegible]14[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[30]

[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[31]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Maurice Schumann□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□6□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□
□□“□□□□□
□□
——□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□[32]

□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□3□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□8□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□16□□[33]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Sorbonne□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1944□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□□□□□□□□□·□□□——□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□——□□·□□□□Max André□□□□□□□7□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[34]

1946[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]self-government[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]David Ben-Gurion[illegible]“[illegible]”[36]

[illegible]·[illegible]Marius Moutet[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][37]

[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Étienne Valluy[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible]Clentral Highlands[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible][38]

[illegible]9[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]David Schoenbrun[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[39]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[40]

9[illegible]14[illegible]Hotel Royal Monceau[illegible]A Venue Hoche[illegible]“Modus Vivendi”[illegible]4[illegible]1947[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]11[illegible]9[illegible]15[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Lacouture[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]”[42]

[illegible]7[illegible]6[illegible]30[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]1946[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[1] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Stein Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946□How the War Began*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2009□□

[2] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Chronique d'Indochine 1945-1947* □Paris□Albin Michel□1985□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□FO 371/46307□TNA□

[3] Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□122.

[4] Bernard Fall□*The Two Viet-Nams□A Political and Military Analysis*□New York□Praeger□1964□□72.

[5] Philippe Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□195□Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 1□*From Colonialism to the Vietminh*□New York□Praeger□1967□□233.

[6] François Guillemot□"Viêt Nam 1945-1946□L'élimination de l'opposition nationaliste et anticolonialistedans le Nord□À coeur de la fracture vietnamienne□" in Christopher E. Goscha and Benoît de Tréglodé□eds.□*Le Viêt Nam depuis 1945□États□contestations et constructions du passé*□Paris□Les Indessavantes□2004□□David G. Marr□*Vietnam 1945□The Quest for Power* □Berkeley□University of California Press□1995□□550.

[7] Marr□*Vietnam 1945*□551□Cecil. B. Currey□*Victory at Any Cost□The Genius of Viet Nam's Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap*□Dulles□Va.□Potomac□2005□□106.

[8] David G. Marr□"Creating Defense Capacity in Vietnam□1945-1947□" in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□74-104□William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□346.

[9] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□347□Peter G. MacDonald□*Giap□The Victor in Vietnam*□New York□W.W. Norton□1993□□69. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1981 □□□□□Nguyen Thi Dinh□□□□□WGBH Vietnam Collection□ openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□2010□10□15□□□

[10] Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam□A History*□2nd ed.□New York□Penguin□1997□□168□Ilya V. Gaiduk□*Confronting Vietnam□Soviet Policy Toward the Indochina*

Conflict□*1954-1963*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□2003□□3.

[11] Jean Sainteny□*Histoire d'unepaixmanquée*□*Indochine 1945-1947*□Paris□Amiot-Dumont□1953□□166□Charles Fenn□*Ho Chi Minh*□*A Biographical Introduction*□New York□Charles Scribner's Sons□1973□□94-95□Jean Sainteny□*Ho Chi Minh and His Vietnam*□*A Personal Memoir*□Chicago□Cowles□1972□□51ff.

[12] Robert Shaplen□*The Lost Revolution*□*The U.S. in Vietnam*□*1946-1966*□New York□Harper & Row□1966□□43. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Elise Pignon et al.□*Léon Pignon*□*Une vie au service des peuples d'Outre-Mer*□Paris□Academie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer□1988□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Daniel Varga□"La politique française en Indochine□1947-50□□Histoire d'une décolonisation manqué□" thèse de doctorat□Université d'Aix-Marseille I□2004□

[13] Frédéric Turpin□*De Gaulle*□*les gaullistes et l'Indochine 1940-1956*□Paris□Les Indessavantes□2005□□183-90□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□355.

[14] □□□□□□□□Gilbert Bodinier and Philippe Duplay□"Montrersa force et négocier□" in Guy Pedroncini and Philippe Duplay□eds.□*Leclerc et l'Indochine 1945-1947*□Paris□Albin Michel□1992□□181-82□and Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□161□351n54□

[15] Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□176□Fall□*Two Viet-Nams*□107.

[16] Leclerc to Juin and d'Argenlieu□February 14□1946□Tel. 933□AOM□reprinted in Gilbert Bodinier□ed.□1945-1946. *Le retour de la France en Indochine. Textes et documents*□Vincennes□Service historique de l'armée de terre□1987□□208-9□D'Argenlieu to Sainteny□February 20□1946□F60 C3024□AN□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□*Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkley□University of California Press□2005□□128. See also Martin Shipway□*The Road to War*□*France and Vietnam*□*1944-1947*□Providence□R.I.□Berghahn□1996□□167-68.

[17] □□□□□□"□□□□"□□□□□□□□□□□Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□42-49□□□□□□Turpin□*De Gaulle*□*les gaullistes et l'Indochine*□195-215□

[18] Peter Worthing□*Revolution and Occupation*□*China and the Vietnamese August Revolution of 1945*□Berkeley□China Research Monograph□Institute of East Asian Studies□2001□□120-24□135-69□Stein Tønnesson□"La paiximposée par la Chine□L'accord franco-vietnamien du 6 mars 1946□" in Charles-Robert

Ageron and Philippe Devillers□eds.□*Les guerres d'Indochine de 1945 à 1975* □Paris□Institut d'histoire du temps présent□1996□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lin Hua□*Chiang Kai-shek□de Gaulle contre Hô Chi Minh□Viêt-nam 1945-1946*□Paris□éditions L'Harmattan□1994□□Laurent Cesari□*L'Indochineenguerres 1945-1993* □Paris□Belin□1995□□42-43□

[19] Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□128. □□□□□□□□□□□□3□6□□□□□□□□□□Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□229-31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nguyen KhacVien□*Vietnam□A Long History*□Hanoi□Gioi□1999□□251□

[20] □□Michael Maclear□*The Ten Thousand Day War*□New York□Avon□1982□□18□□□Sainteny□*Ho Chi Minh and His Vietnam*□59-64□

[21] George Wickes□"Hanoi 1946□" unpublished ms. in author's possession□pp. 4-5□Saigon to FO□April 11□1946□FO 959/7□TNA.

[22] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□373□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Chronique d'Indochine*□chap. 7□

[23] Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□124-26. □□□□Lawrence□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Martin Thomas□"French Imperial Reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War□1945-50□" in Lawrence and Logevall□eds.□*First Vietnam War*□R.E.M. Irving□*The First Indochina War□French and American Policy□1945-1954*□London□Croom Helm□1975□□1-77□

[25] Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□242□Shipway□*Road to War*□179-81□Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□62.

[26] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□April 26□1946□F60 C3024□AN□□□Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□247□

[27] Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□324.

[28] DavidShoenbrun□As France Goes□New York□Atheneum□1968□□231□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□370.

[29] Robert Shaplen□*Lost Revolution*□47.

[30] Jacques Dumaine□Quai d'Orsay□1945-1951□Paris□Julliard□1955□□103□□□Pierre Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh□A Biography*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2007□□121□

[31] □□□□□□1946□7□6□□

[32] Leclerc to Schumann□June 8□1946□printed in Georgette Elgey□*Histoire de la IVème République*□vol. 1□*La République des illusions 1945-1951*□Paris□Fayard□1965□□161.

[33] Bui Diem with David Chanoff□*In the Jaws of History*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1987□□44□Anthony Clayton□*The Wars of French Decolonization*□London□Longman□1994□□131ff.

[34] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jacques Dalloz□*Georges Bidault□Biographiepolitique*□Paris□éditions L'Harmattan□1992□□

[35] *Vietnam□A Television History*□episode 1□"Roots of a War□" PBS□transcript.

[36] □□David Halberstam□*Ho*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1987□□89.

[37] Alexander Werth□*France 1940-1955*□New York□Henry Holt□1956□□335-36□Jean Lacouture□*Leon Blum*□New York□Holmes & Meier□1982□□532.

[38] Werth□*France 1940-1955*□336□Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□252□D'Argenlieu□*Chronique d'Indochine*□302-16.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Shipway□*Road to War*□chap. 8□

[39] Schoenbrun□*As France Goes*□232-35□Sainteny□*Ho Chi Minh and His Vietnam*□87.

[40] Sainteny□*Histoire d'unepaixmanqué*□209ff□Raoul Salan□*Mémoires□Fin d'un empire*□vol. 1□*Le sens d'un engagement juin 1899-septembre 1946*□Paris□Presses de la Cité□1970□□404.

[41] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□380□Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□253□Lacouture□*Blum*□532□*Newsweek*□September 30□1946.

[42] James P. Harrison□*Endless War□Vietnam's Struggle for Independence*□New York□Columbia University Press□1989□□109.

[43] NhatKyHanh Trinh cua Ho Chu tich□"Bon thang sang Phap" □Travel notebook of President Ho□Four months in France□□in *Toan Tap*□4□pp. 323-411□as quoted in Brocheaux□*Ho Chi Minh*□122.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]10[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible]35[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

1911[illegible]8[illegible]21[illegible]17[illegible]Quang Binn[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]14[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1789[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Marie Antoinette[illegible]Robespierre[illegible]Danton[illegible][2]

[illegible]1937[illegible]*The Question of National Liberation in Indochina*[illegible]1940[illegible]Hoa Lo[illegible]50[illegible][3][illegible]1941[illegible]5[illegible][4]

“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]31[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]17[illegible]2[illegible]14[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Stein Tønnesson[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[5]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Viet Bac[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible][6]

[illegible]5[illegible]19[illegible]8[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]12[illegible]41[illegible][7]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][8]

[illegible]10[illegible]“Pork Butcher Specialist”[illegible][9]

[illegible]Nguyen Binh[illegible]1946[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible]6[illegible][10]

[illegible]Tran Huy Lieu[illegible]1946[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”

> [illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]9[illegible]9300[illegible]1200[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible][12]

[illegible]1946[illegible]8[illegible]Nguyen Van Thinh[illegible]11[illegible]10[illegible]80[illegible][13]

[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]23[illegible][14]

[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Mus[illegible]——[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible][15][illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]9[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible][16]

[illegible]Phu Lang Thuong[illegible][17]

[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]"[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]·[illegible]Comité interministériel de l’Indochine[illegible]COMININDO[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible][19]

[illegible]11[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible]11[illegible]20[illegible]240[illegible]7[illegible][21]

[illegible]11[illegible]23[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre-Louis Debès[illegible]44[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Louis Molière[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]23[illegible]6[illegible]Lac Vien[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]

11[illegible]23[illegible]10[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Martin[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[23]

[illegible]·[illegible]11[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]28[illegible][24]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible][25]

[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]50[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible]12[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]·[illegible]Lauriston Sharp[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28][illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][29]

[illegible]12[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Le Populaire*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

□□□[30]

12□17□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□·□□12□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[31]

□

□□□□□□□7□□□□7□□□8□□[32]

□□□□12□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□“□□□”□□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□[33]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“En avant□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

”

[34]

1946年**12**月**20**日

[illegible]——1945[illegible]9[illegible]1946[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]1947[illegible][35][illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]1946[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]*L’Humanité*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]1946[illegible]11[illegible]170[illegible]28%[illegible][37]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]12[illegible]23[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Schuman[illegible]·[illegible][39]

[illegible]1946[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]11[illegible]28[illegible]*Le Monde*[illegible]·[illegible]Rémy Roure[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]·[illegible]1946[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]Frédéric Turpin[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]12[illegible]17[illegible]Colombey-les-Deux-Églises[illegible]3[illegible][41]

[illegible]“[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]”[42]

□□□□□□□

[1] □□□ □□□□□□□□□□Paul Aussaresse□*Pour la France□Services spéciaux 1942-1954*□Paris□Éditions du Rocher□2001□□175.

[2] Bui Diem with David Chanoff□*In the Jaws of History*□Boston□Houghton Miffl in□1987□□13. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tran Trong Trung□*Tong tu lenh Vo Nguyen Giap*□Hanoi□NXB Chinh Tri Quoc Gia□2006□□Cecil B. Currey□*Victory at Any Cost□The Genius of Viet Nam's Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap*□Dulles□Va.□Potomac□2005□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[3] A. J. Langguth□*Our Vietnam□The War□1954-1975*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2000□□52.

[4] Currey□*Victory at Any Cost*□49-52.

[5] Stein Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946□How the War Began*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2009□□28.

[6] Edgar O'Ballance□*The Indo-China War□1945-1954*□London□Faber & Faber□1964□□66-67.

[7] □□□□□□1946□8□6□□

[8] Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□89□Bui Diem□*In the Jaws of History*□46-49.

[9] O'Ballance□*Indo-China War*□71-72□Saigon to FO□October 15□1946□FO 959/11□TNA.

[10] Christopher E. Goscha□"A 'Popular' Side of the Vietnamese Army□General Nguyên Bình and the Early War in the South□1910-1951□□" in Christopher E. Goschaand Benoît de Tréglodé□eds.□*Naissance d'un état-parti□Le Viêt Nam depuis 1945*□Paris□Les Indes savantes□2004□□325-54.

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□11□23□□F60 C3024□AN□

[12] Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□76-77□Philippe Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□318.

[13] Haussaire to COMININDO No. 1800F□November 10□1946□Tel. 938□Archives nationales d'outre-mer□hereafter AOM□□David G. Marr□*Vietnamese Anticolonialism□1885-1925*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1971□□39□Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□104.

[14] Martin Shipway□*The Road to War□France and Vietnam□1944-1947*□Providence□R.I.□Berghahn□1996□□235□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□153.

[15] Paul Mus□*Viêt-Nam□Sociologie d'une guerre*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□73.

[16] Frédéric Turpin□*De Gaulle□les gaullistes et l'Indochine 1940-1956*□Paris□Les Indes savantes□2005□□602-24□Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□107-8. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*La Revue des deux mondes*□December 1□1967□364ff□

[17] Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□108.

[18] Printed in Gilbert Bodinier□ed.□*1945-1946. Le retour de la France en Indochine. Textes et documents*□Vincennes□Service historique de l'armée de terre□1987□□315-17. □□Philippe Devillers□*Paris-Saigon-Hanoi□Les archives de la guerre□1944-1947*□Paris□Gallimard/Julliard□1988□□240-41□

[19] Pignon to COMININDO□November 19□1946□vol.255□no.4145/CAAP3□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-49□MAE.

[20] Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□120.

[21] General Morlière□"Rapport sur les événements politiques et militaires en Indochine du Nord□au cours du dernier trimestre 1946□" January 10□1947□printed in Georges Chaffard□*Les deux guerres du Viêt-nam de Valluy à Westmoreland*□Paris□La Table Ronde□1969□□36-58□Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□332ff. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Vo Nguyen Giap□*Unforgettable Days*□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1975□□373□

[22] Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□335□Shipway□*Road to War*□243.

[23] *La Revue des deux mondes*□December 15□1967□p.510□Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□339. [illegible]*Vietnam*□*A Television History*□episode 1□"Roots of a War□" PBS□transcript[illegible]Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□133-35. [illegible]

[24] Shipway□*Road to War*□245.

[25] Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam*□*A History*□2nd ed.□New York□Penguin□1997□□172□Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina*□*1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□185.

[26] Hanoi to FO□December 9□1946□959/11□TNA.

[27] William J. Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□45-46. □12[illegible]FO to Saigon□December 4□1946□FO 959/14□TNA□

[28] [illegible]Humpty Dumpty[illegible]

[29] David Halberstam□*The Best and the Brightest*□New York□Random House□1972□□85.

[30] Duong Van Mai Elliott□*The Sacred Willow*□*Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*□New York□Oxford University Press□2000□□135□Hanoi to FO□December 9□1946□FO 959/11□TNA.

[31] Tønnesson□Vietnam 1946□195-98.

[32] [illegible]1946□12□21□□Shipway□*Road to War*□262□

[33] Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□138-39.

[34] Elliott□*Sacred Willow*□141.

[35] [illegible]Alain Ruscio□*La guerre "française" d'Indochine*□*1945-1954*□Paris□Les Indes Savantes□1992□□92□

[36] [illegible]*Le Monde*□December 27□1946□

[37] 12□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

[38] Shipway□*Road to War*□250□259-65□Hammer□*Struggle for Indochina*□190□Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 1□*From Colonialism to the Viet Minh*□New York□Praeger□1967□□279.

[39] Martin Thomas□“French Imperial Reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War□1945-1950□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□134. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□William I. Hitchcock□*France Restored□Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe□1944-1954*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□1998□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□John W. Young□*France□the Cold War□and the Western Alliance□1944-1949□French Foreign Policy and Postwar Europe*□Leicester□U.K.□Leicester University Press□1990□□

[40] □□□□□Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946*□142□

[41] Turpin□*De Gaulle□les gaullistes et l’Indochine 1940-1956*□esp. 219-325. □□□□□□*Le Monde*□August 26□1946□

[42] D’Argenlieu□*Chronique d’Indochine*□370□Devillers□*Paris-Saigon-Hanoi*□311.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1[illegible]72[illegible]30[illegible]2[illegible]1855[illegible][1]

[illegible]1947[illegible]2[illegible]Hon Gai[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]—[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]19[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]46[illegible]1917[illegible]17[illegible]1940[illegible]21[illegible]1941[illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible][2]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][3]1947[illegible]1940[illegible][4]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Fleet[illegible][5]

□□1947□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1947□3□□□□□□□□□□——□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”1□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[6]

□□□4□□□□Route Coloniale 4□RC4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[7]

□

□□□1946□12□22□□□[8]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1947□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Resistance Will Win*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□1951□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Vietnamese Workers Party□VWP□Lao Dong□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible][9]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1946[illegible]12[illegible]1947[illegible]1[illegible][10]

[illegible]1947[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][11]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]——[illegible]

□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□1947□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1500□□[13]

□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“3□□□”□Route Coloniale 3□RC3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□13□□□□□□□□□□□Tien Yen□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][14]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]4[illegible]680[illegible][16]

[illegible]1947[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]Quang Tri[illegible]80%[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]11[illegible][17]

[illegible]1940[illegible][18]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Le Ly Hayslip[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][19]

[illegible]80%[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[20]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][21]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]*Les Temps Modernes*[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][23][illegible]Mouvement démocratique de la rénovation malgache[illegible]MDRM[illegible]10[illegible]1949[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Ramadier[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1940[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Reynaud[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]·[illegible]Maurice Viollette[illegible]Duong Bach Mai[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]1944[illegible]9[illegible]1950[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Bonnet[illegible]·[illegible]René Massigli[illegible]1947[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Paul Coste-Floret[illegible][26]

1947[illegible]1946[illegible]1947[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]

[illegible][28][illegible]1947[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]1946[illegible]1947[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Vandenberg[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]1947[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Henry Wallace[illegible]·A.[illegible]Robert A. Taft[illegible]·[illegible][30][illegible]1947[illegible]3[illegible]Federal Employee Loyalty Program[illegible]200[illegible][31][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][32]

[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible]Foggy Bottom[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][33]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]7[illegible]1948[illegible]7[illegible]19[illegible]·C.[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]Jefferson Caffery[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]19[illegible]
[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Kenneth Landon[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Chauvel[illegible]1947[illegible]2[illegible][35]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]1947[illegible]2[illegible]8[illegible]

[2] Yves Gras[illegible]*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*[illegible]Paris[illegible]Plon[illegible]1979[illegible]162-67[illegible]Phillip B. Davidson[illegible]*Vietnam at War*[illegible]*The History*[illegible]*1946-1975*[illegible]New York[illegible]Oxford University Press[illegible]1991[illegible]47. [illegible]*La Revue des deuxmondes*[illegible]December 1[illegible]1967[illegible]

[3] [illegible]Douglas Porch[illegible]*The French Foreign Legion*[illegible]*A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force*[illegible]New York[illegible]HarperCollins[illegible]1991[illegible]

[4] Henry Ainley□*In Order to Die*□London□Burke□1955□□13-14.

[5] Seymour Topping□*Journey Between Two Chinas*□New York□Harper & Row□1972□□119.

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1947□1□2□□1947□1□5□□

[7] Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□175-77.

[8] Vo Nguyen Giap□*Memoirs of War□The Road to Dien Bien Phu*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□21.

[9] Truong Chinh□*The Resistance Will Win*□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1960 ed.□.□□William J. Duiker□*The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam*□Boulder□Colo.□Westview□1996□□135□

[10] Vo Nguyen Giap□“Notre guerre de libération— stratégieet tactique□” April 3□1947□French translation in TFIN 2e Bureau BR No. 2788/2□June 11□1947□CP 128□AOM. □□Vo Nguyen Giap□*Mémoires 1946-1954*□vol.1□*La résistance encerclée*□Fontenay-sous-Bois□Anako□2003-4□□37-39□and Vo Nguyen Giap□*Unforgettable Days*□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1975□□409□

[11] Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□93.

[12] Bernard B. Fall□“The Anatomy of Insurgency in Indochina□1946-54□” delivered on April 22□1965□at the the National War College□Washington□D.C. A copy is in Box P-1□series 1.5□Papers and Reports by Dr. Fall□Bernard Fall Collection□JFKL.

[13] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Windrow□*Last Valley*□97-100□

[14] Windrow□*Last Valley*□96-97.

[15] British Military Liaison Report□July 11□1947□FO 474/1□TNA.

[16] Windrow□*Last Valley*□104.

[17] Windrow□*Last Valley*□99□Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 2□*Vietnam at War*□New York□Praeger□1967□□739-40□George Armstrong Kelly□*Lost Soldiers□The French Army and Empire in Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□MIT Press□1965□□47.

[18] Buttinger□*Dragon Embattled*□737-38.

[19] Le Ly Hayslip□*When Heaven and Earth Changed Places*□New York□Doubleday□1989□□4.

[20] Memorandum RM-5721-PR. *A Translation from the French□Lessons of the War in Indochina*□trans. V. J. Croizat□Santa Monica□Calif.□Rand Corporation□1967□□2□56-57.

[21] Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Political History*□New York□Praeger□1968□□285□□□□□□□1947□1□19□□Singapore to FO□January 30□1947□CAB 121/742□TNA□

[22] □□Paris to FO□April 8□1947□FO 471/1□TNA□David Drake□"*Les Temps modernes* and the French War in Indochina□" *Journal of European Studies* 28□March-June 1998□□25-41□

[23] Martin Thomas□"French Imperial Reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War□1945-1950□" in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□139.

[24] *Journal Officiel*□Assemblée Nationale□March 18□1947□pp. 879-82□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to Warin Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□156-59□Thomas□"French Imperial Reconstruction□" 140-41.

[25] Cooper to Atlee□April 1□1947□FO 474/1□TNA□Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□197.

[26] Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□160□William I. Hitchcock□*France Restored□Cold War Diplomacy and the Quest for Leadership in Europe□1944-1954*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□1998□.

[27] Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□170-71□Paris to FO□April 1□1947□FO 474/1□TNA.

[28] □□□□□□□□□□Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□

[29] □□Robert L. Beisner□*Dean Acheson□A Life in the Cold War*□New York□Oxford University Press□2006□□60□

[30] Walter Lippmann，*The Cold War：A Study in U.S. Foreign Policy*（New York：Harper & Row，1947）.

[31] Eric Hobsbawm，*Age of Extremes：The Short Twentieth Century，1914-1991*（London：Michael Joseph，1994），236-37.

[32] Philippe Devillers，*Vietnam and France*（Paris：Comité d’études des problemes du Pacifique，distributed by Institute of Pacific Relations，1950），2.

[33] Lawrence，*Assuming the Burden*，172ff.

[34] Marshall to Caffery，February 3，1947，*Pentagon Papers. United States-Vietnam Relations，1945-1967：Study Prepared by the Department of Defense*（Washington，D.C.：Government Printing Office，1971），8：98-99.

[35] Jean Chauvel，“L’Indochine，” February 10，1947，Bidault Papers，File 128，Archives nationales，Paris（hereafter AN）；Lawrence，Assuming the Burden，181.

[illegible] “[illegible]”

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]72[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]5[illegible]14[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Émile Bollaert[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][1]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Léon Joseph Mus[illegible]1902[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]Bourges[illegible]1907[illegible]Collège du protectorat[illegible]École normale[illegible]12[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]——[illegible]1930[illegible]1931[illegible]Nghe Tinh[illegible][3]

[illegible]1942[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]400[illegible]——[illegible]9[illegible][4]

[illegible]1945[illegible]Note sur la crise morale franco-indochinoise[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[5]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1947[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]64[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]"Comment allez-vous[illegible]"[illegible]5[illegible]12[illegible]3[illegible]"Suffisament bien"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]30[illegible]"[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]·[illegible]*Viêt-Nam*[illegible]*sociologie d'une guerre*[illegible]1952[illegible][7][illegible]Collège de France[illegible]Yale University[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible][8]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1940[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——1945[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1947[illegible]1947[illegible][9]

[10]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]Pandit Nehru[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Aung San[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]·[illegible]Pham Ngoc Thach[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]Jacques Duclos[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][12]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][13]

[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]34[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Philippe Devillers[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]1925[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]Henri Cochet[illegible]1932[illegible]13[illegible]Nguyen Hui Tai Lan[illegible]·[illegible]Mariette-Jeanne[illegible][16]

[illegible]1945[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1946[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]7[illegible][17]

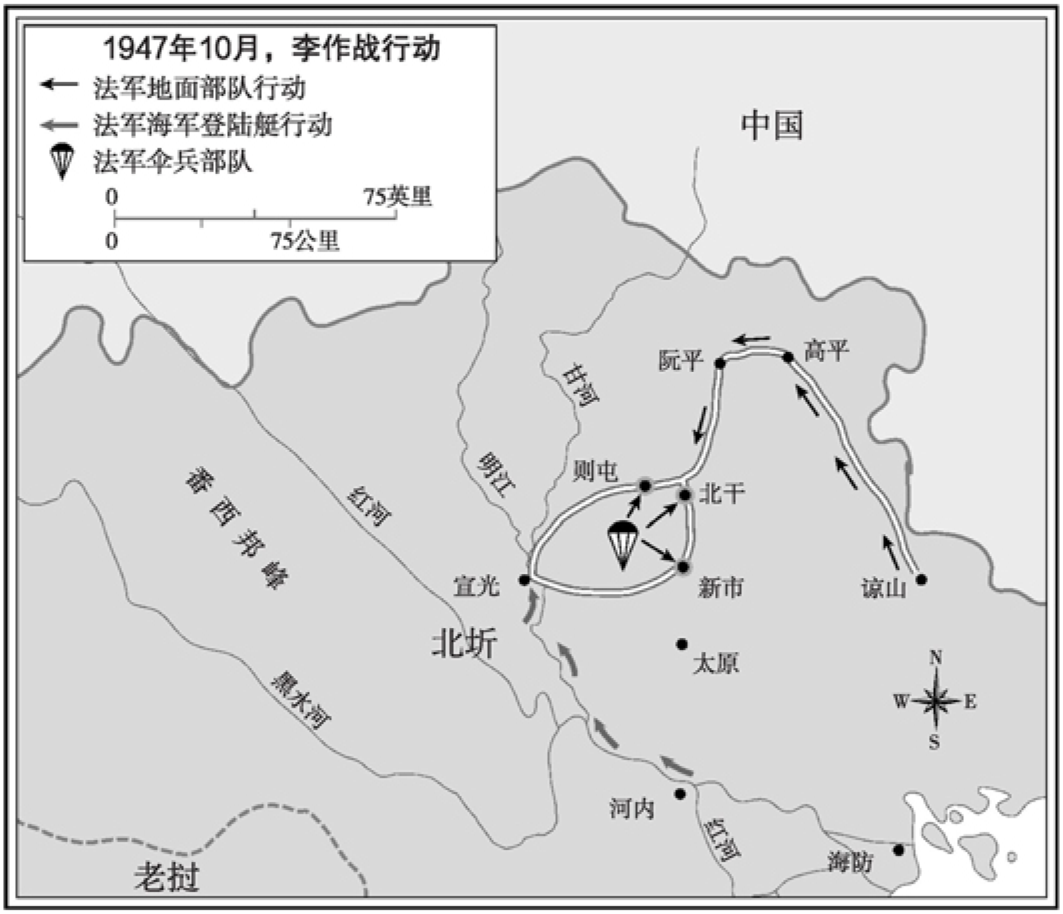
[illegible]9[illegible]Ha Dong[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18][illegible]
[illegible][19][illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1947[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]10[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Léa[illegible]17[illegible]

[illegible]𣴘[illegible]950[illegible]Nguyen Van To[illegible][20]



□□□10□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□10□13□□□□□□□□□□□□225□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□16□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□19□□□11□8□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□[21]

□□□□□□□“□□□□”□Operation Ceinture□□18□□□18□□——□□□□□□□

[illegible]12[illegible]22[illegible][22]

[illegible]9000[illegible]1947[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]12[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1948[illegible]——[illegible][24]

[illegible]1948[illegible]6[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Nguyen Van Xuan[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible][26]

[illegible]——[illegible]École polytechnique[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]60%[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Le Cercle Sportif[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*L’Union Française*[illegible]·[illegible]Marshal Hubert Lyautey[illegible]“[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]

1948[illegible]10[illegible]50[illegible]12[illegible][28][illegible]·[illegible][29]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1947[illegible]1938[illegible]150[illegible]1948[illegible]17[illegible][30]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1947[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]240[illegible]1948[illegible]2[illegible]28[illegible]4[illegible]22[illegible]33[illegible]40%[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]36[illegible][31]

[illegible]200[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1948[illegible]8[illegible]300[illegible]9[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]3[illegible]50[illegible][32]

[illegible]1948[illegible]—[illegible]9[illegible]45[illegible]10[illegible][33]

[illegible]——[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Lucien Bodard[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[34][illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Elliott Trudeau[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]1948[illegible]——5[illegible]1[illegible]70[illegible]82[illegible]150[illegible][36][illegible]——[illegible]1948[illegible]25[illegible][37]

[illegible]12[illegible]800[illegible]24[illegible][38]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39]

1949[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]Vincent Auriol[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Associated State[illegible]7[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible]3.8[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]1947[illegible]12[illegible]

□“□□□□□”□13□□□□1949□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□1949□4□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[41]

□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□1949□□□□·R.□□□Henry R.Luce□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Life*□□20□□□44.4%□□□1949□10□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Joseph Alsop□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1949□6□□[42]

□□□□□□□1949□□□1949□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□

[1] [illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”□Philippe Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*□Paris□éditions du Seuil□1952□□397□

[2] Coste-Floret quoted in Combat□May 14□1947. □□Robert Shaplen□*The Lost Revolution*□*The U.S. in Vietnam*□*1946-1966*□New York□Harper & Row□1966□□58□

[3] [illegible]David Chandler and Christopher E. Goscha□eds.□*L’espace d’un regard*□*Paul Mus et l’Asie*□Paris□Les Indes savantes□2006□□Paul Mus□*Le déstin de L’Union Française de l’Indochine à l’Afrique*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1954□□John T. McAlister□Jr.□and Paul Mus□*The Vietnamese and Their Revolution*□New York□Harper & Row□1970□□7-8[illegible]Paul Mus□*L’angle de l’Asie*□ed. Serge Thion□Paris□Hermann□1977□□214-15[illegible]·[illegible]*Fire in the Lake*□*The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1972[illegible]

[4] Douglas Porch□*The French Foreign Legion*□*A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force*□New York□HarperCollins□1991□□527□Phillip B. Davidson□*Vietnam at War*□*The History*□*1946-1975*□New York□Oxford University Press□1991□□47-49.

[5] □□Susan Bayly□“Conceptualizing Resistance and Revolution in Vietnam□Paul Mus’ Understanding of Colonialism in Crisis□” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4□Winter 2009□□196□

[6] David Chandler□“Paul Mus□1902-1969□□A Biographical Sketch□” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4□Winter 2009□□174□Paul Mus□*Viêt-Nam*□*Sociologie d’une guerre*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□312□372□Paul Mus□*Ho Chi Minh*□*le Vietnam et l’Asie*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1971□□79. □□Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□404[illegible]5□11[illegible]

[7] [illegible]McAlister and Mus□*The Vietnamese and Their Revolution*□

[8] Christopher E. Goscha□“French Lessons from Indochina□Paul Mus and the American Debate over the Legitimacy of the Vietnam War□”[illegible]

[9] Mark Philip Bradley□*Imagining Vietnam and America*□*The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam*□*1919-1950*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□

2000□□148-76□Christopher E. Goscha□“Le contexte asiatique de la guerre francovietnamienne□Réseaux□relations et économie□” Ph.D. dissertation□École pratique des hautes Études/Sorbonne□2001□563-99□Christopher E. Goscha□“Courting Diplomatic Disaster□The Difficult Integration of Vietnam into the Internationalist Communist Movement□1945-1950□□” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 1□February 2006□□59-103.

[10] Bradley□Imagining Vietnam and America□148-50□Tuong Vu□“From Cheering to Volunteering□Vietnamese Communists and the Coming of the Cold War□” in Christopher E. Goscha and Christian F. Ostermann□eds.□*Connecting Histories□Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia□1945-1962*□Washington□D.C.□Woodrow Wilson Center Press□2009□□184.

[11] Bradley□*Imagining Vietnam and America*□148-50.

[12] Benoît de Tréglodé□“Premiers contacts entre le Vietnam et l’Union soviétique□1947-1948□□” *Approches-Asie*□no. 16□1999□□125-35□Goscha□“Courting Diplomatic Disaster□”

[13] □□1947□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Philippe Devillers□*Paris-Saigon-Hanoi□Les archives de la guerre□1944-1947*□Paris□Gallimard/Julliard□1988□□334□

[14] Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□397-98□Robert Shaplen□*Lost Revolution*□62.

[15] Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II Through Dienbienphu*□New York□W.W. Norton□1989□□77□Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□105.

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam*□61-64□George McTurnan Kahin□*Intervention□How America Became Involved in Vietnam*□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□1986□□24-26□

[17] Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□211-12.

[18] Discours prononcé par M. E. Bollaert□September 11□1947□Record Group 59□851G.00/9-1147□NARA.

[19] Neil L. Jamieson□*Understanding Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1993□□212-13.

[20] Christopher E. Goscha□“Intelligence in a Time of Decolonization□The Case of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam at War□1945-1950□□” *Intelligence & National Security*□22□2007□□13.

[21] Yves Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1979□□190-97.

[22] Bernard Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War□1946-1954*□Harrisburg□Pa.□Stackpole Books□1961□□30.

[23] Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam□A History*□2nd ed.□New York□Penguin□1997□□189.

[24] Martin Thomas□“French Imperial Reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War□1945-1950□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□144-45.

[25] Consul General-Hanoi to Saigon□June 7□1948□FO 959/19□TNA.

[26] Shaplen□*Lost Revolution*□62.

[27] Andrew Roth□“French Tactics in Indo-China□” *New Republic*□February 28□1948.

[28] □□Odd Arne Westad□*Decisive Encounters□The Chinese Civil War□1946-1950*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□2003□□chap. 6□

[29] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□DanielVarga□“La politique française en Indochine□1947-1950□□Histoire d’une décolonisationmanquée□” doctoral thesis□Université Aix-Marseille□July 2004□

[30] Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitmentto War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□203.

[31] Hanoi to FO□n.d.□FO 371/41723□Windrow□*Last Valley*□105.

[32] “General Report for September□” November 1□1948□FO 959/21□TNA.

[33] Consul General-Hanoi to Saigon□September 20□1948□FO 959/20□TNA.

[34] Lucien Bodard□*The Quicksand War*□*Prelude to Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1967□□125-26.

[35] John English□*Citizen of the World*□*The Life of Pierre Elliott Trudeau*□Toronto□Alfred A. Knopf Canada□2006□□185-86.

[36] Gras□*Histoire*□224-26.

[37] □□□1948□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□80%□□□□□□□□□□”“French Indo-China□” October 23□1948□FO 959/23□TNA. □□William J. Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□68□

[38] “General Report for December 1948□” January 2□1949□FO 959/32□TNA.

[39] Philippe Devillers□*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1952□□442-43□Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam*□*A Political History*□New York□Praeger□1968□□308.

[40] Saigon to FO□n.d.□FO 959/45□TNA.

[41] Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□194-95□Karnow□Vietnam□191.

[42] Robert E. Herzstein□*Henry R. Luce*□*Time*□*and the American Crusade in Asia*□NewYork□Cambridge University Press□2005□□xiii□140□157□*Time*□October 10□1949.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Alan Brinkley□*The Publisher*□*Henry Luce and His American* Century□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□2010□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Alan Brinkley□*The Publisher*□*Henry Luce and His American* Century□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□2010□□chap. 11-12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Robert Vanderlan□*Intellectuals Incorporated*□*Politics*□*Art*□*and Ideas Inside Henry Luce's Media Empire*□Philadelphia□University of Pennsylvania Press□2010□□

[illegible] [illegible] 1949[illegible]1953[illegible]

[illegible] “[illegible]”

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[1][illegible]·[illegible]1949[illegible]20[illegible]1968[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Lyndon Baines Johnson[illegible]

[illegible]1969[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]*Present at the Creation*[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]40[illegible]

□□□1949□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1949□1950□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1893□4□11□□□Groton□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Covington & Burling□□□□□□□□□□□□1933□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□1949□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□·□□□James Reston□□1949□2□□□——□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□[3]

□□□·□□□·□□□Josip Broz Tito□□□[4]

□□□1949□2□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□“□□□

[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Charles Reed[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]David Bruce[illegible][6][illegible]·M.[illegible]George M. Abbott[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible][7]

[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8][illegible]

1949[illegible]1.7[illegible]Policy Planning Staff[illegible]·F.[illegible]George F. Kennan[illegible]·[illegible]Dean Rusk[illegible][9]

[illegible]1949[illegible]8[illegible]9[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]1949[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]-[illegible]”[10]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1949[illegible]bandwagon effect[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1949[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·M.[illegible]“[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1949[illegible]·[illegible]Alger Hiss[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph McCarthy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]William Jenner[illegible]“[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]1949[illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]18[illegible]1[illegible]30[illegible][13]

[illegible]——[illegible]1949[illegible]1948[illegible]

> [illegible]……[illegible][14]

[illegible]——1945[illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]·H.[illegible]William H. Hunter[illegible]1948[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][15]

[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[16]

[illegible]1[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]1000[illegible]1945[illegible]

1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]17[illegible]1950[illegible]1[illegible]20[illegible]1[illegible]30[illegible][18]

[illegible]2[illegible]10[illegible]1940[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1948[illegible]Cominform[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]

[illegible]1949[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][20]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]3[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][22]

[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]（Mikhail Borodin[illegible][23]

[illegible]1949[illegible]·[illegible][24]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]7[illegible]
[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][26]

[illegible][27]

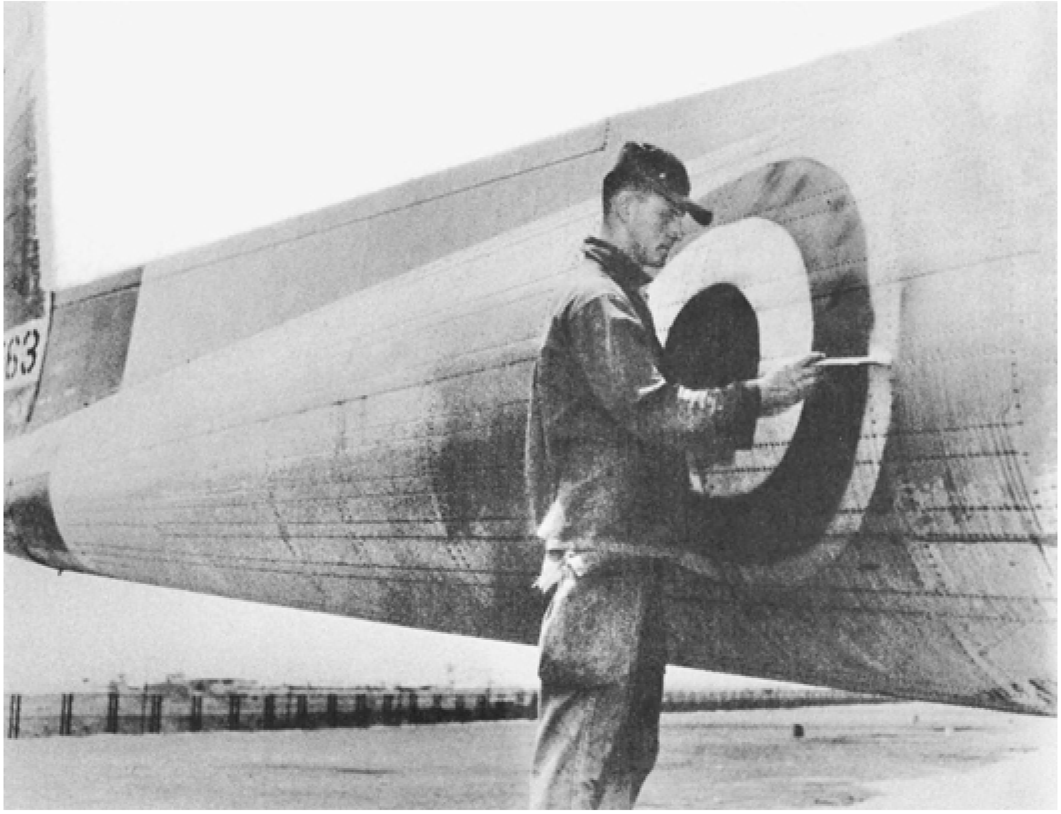
[illegible]2[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]Phan Huy Quat[illegible]·[illegible][28]

[illegible]·[illegible]Marcel Carpentier[illegible]“[illegible]24[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Alexandre Parodi[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[30]

[illegible]5[illegible]1[illegible]2330[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][31]



□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C-119□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Charlton Ogburn□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□·□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□”[32]

□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]——[illegible]120[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33]

[illegible]*New Republic*[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]2[illegible]

> [illegible]……[illegible][35]

[illegible]6[illegible]7[illegible]

[illegible]79[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible][36]

[illegible]1950[illegible]8[illegible]1949[illegible]1949[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Revers[illegible]——[illegible]“Revers”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1950[illegible]1949[illegible][37]

[illegible]·[illegible]1950[illegible]4[illegible]

> [illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]1948[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible][39]

[illegible]Do Dai Phuoc[illegible]72[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]The Generals’ Affair[illegible][40][illegible]1949[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]1940[illegible]1946[illegible]

---

[1] Dean Acheson[illegible]*Present at the Creation*[illegible]*My Years in the State Department*[illegible]New York[illegible]W.W. Norton[illegible]1969[illegible]674.

[2] Walter Isaacson and Evan Thomas[illegible]*The Wise Men*[illegible]*Six Friends and the World They Made*[illegible]New York[illegible]Simon & Schuster[illegible]1986[illegible]22.

[3] James Reston□*Deadline□A Memoir*□New York□Random House□1991□□144□Mark Atwood Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□225.

[4] Neil Sheehan□*A Bright Shining Lie□John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam*□New York□Random House□1988□□169.

[5] Robert L. Beisner□*Dean Acheson□A Life in the Cold War*□New York□Oxford University Press□2006□□268-69□James Chace□*Acheson□The Secretary of State Who Created the American World*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1998□□264□Robert M. Blum□*Drawing the Line□The Origin of American Containment Policy in East Asia*□New York□W.W. Norton□1982□□115.

[6] Chace□*Acheson*□266□Lawrence□*Assuming the Burden*□225.

[7] Ronald McGlothlen□*Controlling the Waves□Dean Acheson and U.S. Foreign Policyin Asia*□New York□W.W. Norton□1993□□181.

[8] Blum□*Drawing the Line*□120.

[9] Michael Schaller□"Securing the Great Ascent□Occupied Japan and the Origins of Containment in Southeast Asia□" *Journal of American History* 69□September 1982□□392-413□Andrew J. Rotter□*The Path to Vietnam□Origins of the American Commitment to Southeast Asia*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1987□□McGlothlen□*Controlling the Waves*□191-201.

[10] *The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decisionmaking on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□82.

[11] George C. Herring□*America's Longest War□The United States and Vietnam□1950-1975*□4th ed.□New York□McGraw-Hill□2002□□16.

[12] Chace□*Acheson*□227-28□430□Sam Tanenhaus□*Whitaker Chambers□A Biography*□New York□Random House□1997□□437-38□Richard Nixon□*RN□The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*□New York□Grosset and Dunlap□1978□□110.

[13] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tuong Vu□"From Cheering to Volunteering□Vietnamese Communists and the Coming of the Cold War□" in Christopher E. Goscha and Christian F. Ostermann□eds.□*Connecting Histories□*

Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia□1945-1962□Washington□D.C.□Woodrow Wilson Center Press□2009□□188-93□

[14] □□□□□□January 14□1948□quoted in Christopher E. Goscha□"Courting Diplomatic Disaster□The Difficult Integration of Vietnam into the Internationalist Communist Movement□1945-1950□□" *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 1□February 2006□□83□

[15] □□□□□□January 14□1948□quoted in Christopher E. Goscha□"Courting Diplomatic Disaster□The Difficult Integration of Vietnam into the Internationalist Communist Movement□1945-1950□□" *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 1□February 2006□□83□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Christoph Giebel□*Imagined Ancestries of Vietnamese Communism□Ton Duc Thang and the Politics of History and Memory*□Seattle□University of Washington Press□2004□□

[16] János Radványi□*Delusion and Reality□Gambits□Hoaxes□and Diplomatic One-Upmanship in Vietnam*□South Bend□Ind.□Gateway Editions□1978□□4□Goscha□"Courting Diplomatic Disaster□□" 84□Ilya Gaiduk□"Soviet Cold War Strategy and Prospects of Revolution in South and Southeast Asia□" in Goscha and Ostermann□*Connecting Histories*□123-36.

[17] Chen Jian□*Mao's China and the Cold War*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2001□□50□Odd Arne Westad□ed.□*Brothers in Arms□The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance□1945-1963*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1998□□63.

[18] William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□418-19□□□□Qiang Zhai□□"Transplanting the Chinese Model□Chinese Military Advisers and the First Vietnam War□1950-1954□" *Journal of Military History* 57□no. 4□October 1993□□689-715□

[19] □□Philip Short□*Mao□A Life*□New York□Henry Holt□1999□□425□

[20] □□Philip Short□*Mao□A Life*□New York□Henry Holt□1999□□424.

[21] Vo Nguyen Giap□*Memoirs of War□The Road to Dien Bien Phu*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□12-13□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□421.

[22] Chen Jian□*Mao's China*□122-23.

[23] QiangZhai□"Transplanting the Chinese Model□" 695.

[24] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□416□□□□□□□□□□□□□2003□1□□□□□

[25] Robert J. McMahon□*The Limits of Empire*□*The United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II*□New York□Columbia University Press□1999□□40.

[26] Paris to Washington□February 13□1950□File 257□Asie/Indochine□MAE.

[27] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pignon to Paris□January 24□1950□Série XIV□SLOTFOM□no. 16/ps/cab□□Fonds Haut-Commissariat de France en Indochine□Dépôt des Archives d'Outre-Mer□Aix-en-Provence□□□Mark Lawrence□□□□□□□□□

[28] Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support*□*The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam*□*1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□108.

[29] □□□□□□□1950□3□9□□Paris to FO□5/9/50□FO 959/43□TNA□Spector□*Advice and Support*□108□

[30] Chace□*Acheson*□267.

[31] Herring□*America's Longest War*□25□William J. Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□96-97.

[32] □□□□□□□□1950□4□4□□

[33] Seymour Topping□*Journey Between Two Chinas*□New York□Harper & Row□1972□□111.

[34] "The Cold War's Center□"□□□□□□□□1950□4□24□□

[35] □□Christopher E. Goscha□"The 'Two Vietnams' and the Advent of the Cold War□1950 and Asian Shifts in the International System□" in Goscha and Ostermann□*Connecting Histories*□214-15□

[36] Chen Jian□*Mao's China*□124-25.

[37] Saigon to FO□April 8□1950□FO 371/83648□TNA.

[38] Norman Sherry□*The Life of Graham Greene*□vol. 2□*1939-1955*□New York□Viking□1995□□361.

[39] Alexander Werth，*France 1940-1955*（New York：Henry Holt，1956），455；Martin Windrow，*The Last Valley：Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*（Cambridge，Mass.：Da Capo，2004），107.

[40] Yves Gras，*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*（Paris：Plon，1979），275-79.

[illegible] 4[illegible]

[illegible]

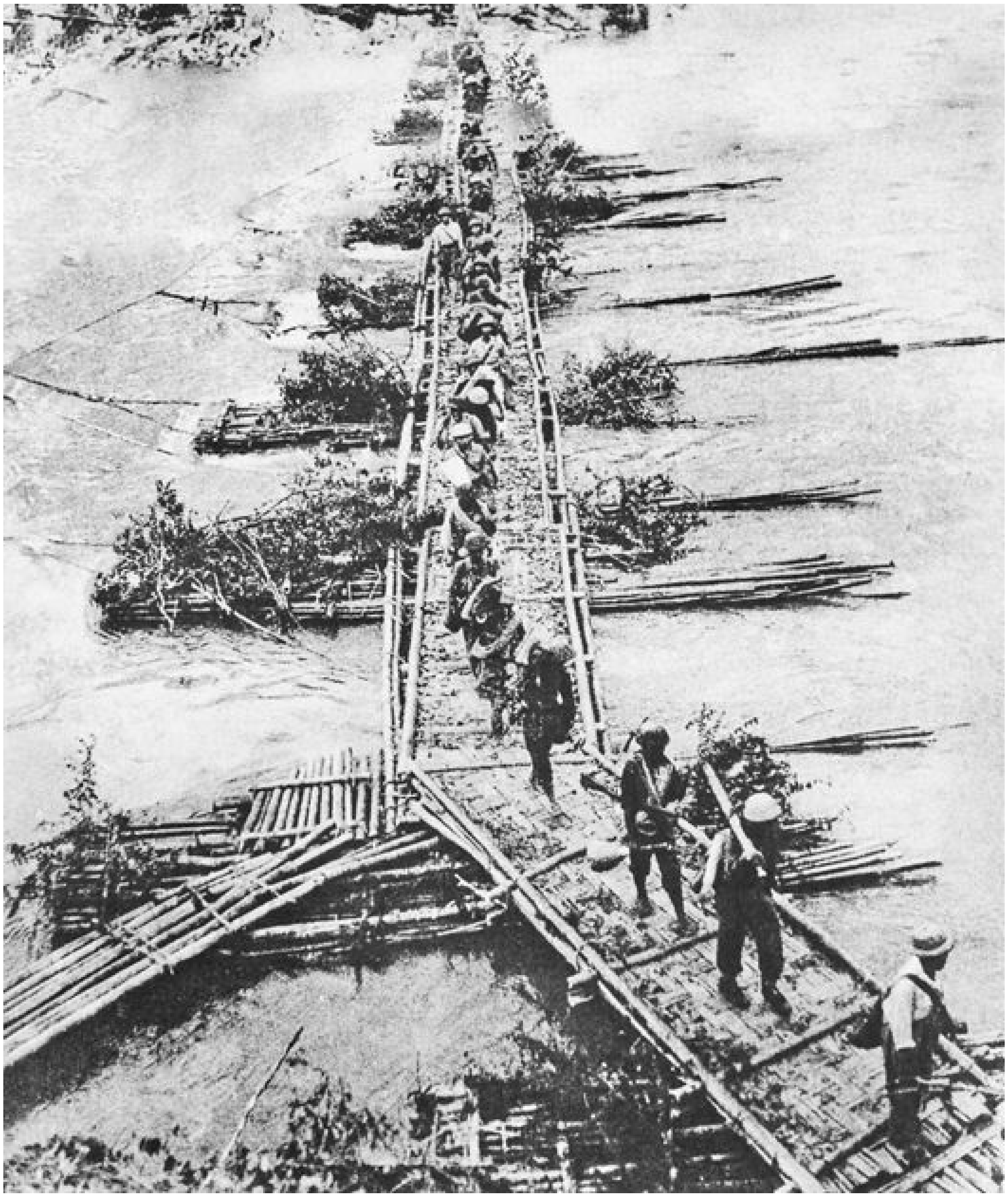
1950[illegible]5[illegible]25[illegible]6[illegible]45[illegible]4[illegible]800[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]75[illegible]48[illegible]

[illegible]34[illegible][1]

[illegible]——[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]304[illegible]308[illegible]312[illegible]316[illegible]320[illegible]325[illegible]325[illegible][2]

[illegible]5[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]90[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3]

[illegible]



1950[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]6700[illegible]680[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]20[illegible][5][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6]

[illegible]——[illegible]1.4[illegible]1700[illegible]150[illegible]2800[illegible]200[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]1951[illegible]7200[illegible]——[illegible]9[illegible][7]

[illegible]1950[illegible][8]

[illegible]25[illegible]40%[illegible]Personnel féminin de l’armée de terre[illegible]PFAT[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Paule Dupont d’Isigny[illegible]4000[illegible]30[illegible]100[illegible]PFAT[illegible]

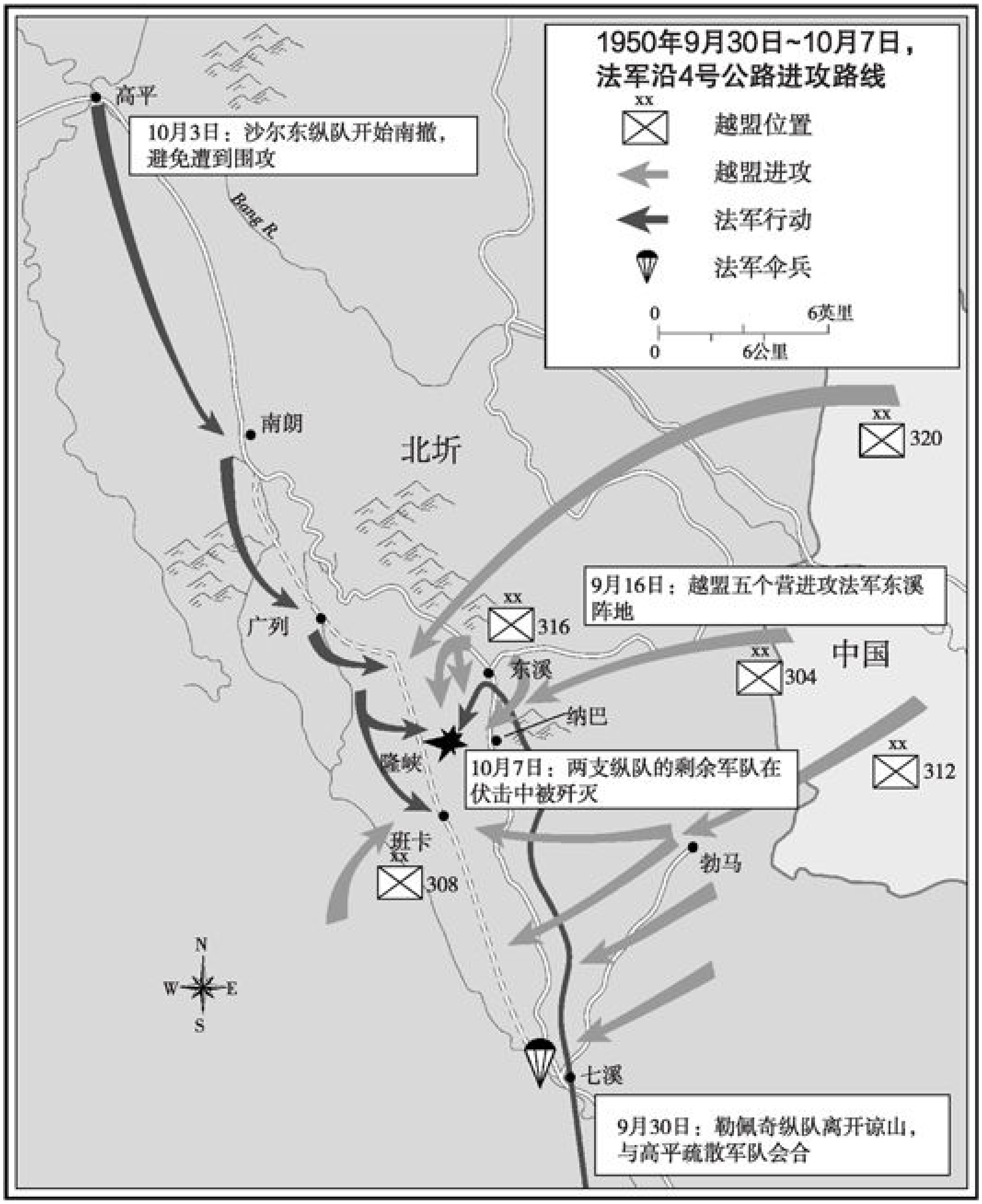
[illegible]5.3[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]2.5[illegible][10]

[illegible]·[illegible]1950[illegible]——[illegible]—[illegible]4[illegible]Tra Vinh[illegible]Than Son[illegible]Soc Trang[illegible]Sa Dec[illegible][11]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□——□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□9□16□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□9□18□□10□□□□52□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□□
□□□31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[12]

□□□□□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3500□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□23□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□·□□□Marcel Le Page□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9
□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□
□”□[13]



[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Charton[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]2600[illegible]——[illegible]1000[illegible]

[illegible]600[illegible]——[illegible]500[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]477[illegible][14]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”10[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[17]

10[illegible]7[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[19]

[illegible]600[illegible]6000[illegible]4800[illegible]75[illegible]295[illegible]2939[illegible]100[illegible]950[illegible]8000[illegible]450[illegible]“4[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]·[illegible]1759[illegible][21]

[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]17[illegible]18[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]19[illegible]600[illegible]·[illegible][22][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]9000[illegible]30%[illegible]6[illegible]6%[illegible]12[illegible]18[illegible][23]

[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]8[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible][24]

[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]1950[illegible][25]

11[illegible]

[illegible][26]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][27]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1951[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Rassemblement du peuple français[illegible]RPF[illegible]——[illegible][28]

[illegible]10[illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]Radical Party[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

> [illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[29]

[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]Jean de Lattre de Tassigny[illegible]
[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible]1950[illegible]11[illegible]8[illegible]1950[illegible]11[illegible]Vietnamese Military Academy[illegible]150[illegible]1951[illegible]4[illegible][30]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][31][illegible]1950[illegible]6[illegible]25[illegible]13[illegible]8[illegible]C-47[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]John Melby[illegible]·B.[illegible]Graves B.Erskine[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Military Assistance Advisory Group[illegible]MAAG[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Special Mission for Technical and Economic Assistance[illegible]STEM[illegible]MAAG[illegible][32]

[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]25[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]11[illegible]90[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]41[illegible]B-26[illegible][33]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34]

[illegible]

[illegible]Sukarno[illegible]1949[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1950[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[35]

[illegible]

---

[1] Edgar O’Ballance[illegible]*The Indo-China War*[illegible]*1945-1954*[illegible]London[illegible]Faber & Faber[illegible]1964[illegible]110[illegible]Lucien Bodard[illegible]*The Quicksand War*[illegible]*Prelude to Vietnam*[illegible]Boston[illegible]Little[illegible]Brown[illegible]1967[illegible]253[illegible]Dang Van Viet[illegible]*Highway 4*[illegible]*The Border*

Campaign□1947-1950□□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1990□□120-23. □□1950□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Charles-Henry de Pirey□*La Route Morte□RC4-1950*□Paris□Indo Éditions□2002□□□□Serge Desbois□*Le rendez-vous manqué□Des colonnes Charton et Le Page□Indochine-RC4-1950*□Paris□Indo Éditions□2003□□Erwan Bergot□*La bataille de Dong Khê□La tragédie de la R.C. 4□Indochine 1950*□Paris□Presses de la Cité□1987□□

[2] Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□124□George W. Allen□*None So Blind□A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam*□Chicago□Ivan R. Dee□2001□□37-38.

[3] O’Ballance□*Indo-China War*□113.

[4] Bodard□*Quicksand War*□261-62.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□20□□□□□

[6] Chen Jian□*Mao’s China and the Cold War*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2001□□125.

[7] Chen Jian□Mao’s China□126□Bodard□*Quicksand War*□245. □□Greg Lockhart□*Nation in Arms□The Origins of the People’s Army of Vietnam*□Wellington□N.Z.□Allen & Unwin□1989□□225-26□

[8] Yves Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1979□□317□Lockhart□*Nation in Arms*□229.

[9] Douglas Porch□T*he French Foreign Legion□A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force*□New York□HarperCollins□1991□□521□O’Ballance□*Indo-China War*□113.

[10] Joint Intelligence Committee Report□March 15□1950□CAB 158/9□November 1□1950□CAB 158/11□TNA.

[11] Phillip B. Davidson□*Vietnam at War□The History□1946-1975*□New York□Oxford University Press□1991□□71-72. Lucien Bodard□□□□□□□□□1950□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Quicksand War*□188-220□□1951□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Jacques Hogard□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2000□□□□□□□□□

[12] Vo Nguyen Giap□*Memoirs of War□The Road to Dien Bien Phu*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□38-56□Porch□*French Foreign Legion*□521.

[13] Lucien Bodard□*La guerre d’Indochine*□Paris□Gallimard□1965□□3□96-377□Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□323-54□Le Page quoted in Bodard□*QuicksandWar*□278.

[14] Porch□*French Foreign Legion*□523□Cecil B. Currey□*Victory at Any Cost□The Genius of Viet Nam’s Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap*□Dulles□Va.□Potomac□2005□□169.

[15] □□Bodard□*Quicksand War*□282□

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□Porch□*French Foreign Legion*□523□Marc Dem□*Mourir pour Cao Bang*□Paris□Éditions Albin Michel□1978□□

[17] Giap□*Road to Dien Bien Phu*□82-84.

[18] Desbois□*Le rendez-vous manqué*□110-15□Porch□*French Foreign Legion*□524-25.

[19] Dang Van Viet□*Highway 4*□151.

[20] □□□□□ FO 959/45□TNA□Bodard□*Quicksand War*□291-92□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pierre Charton□*RC 4□Indochine1950□La tragédie de l’évacuation de Cao Bang*□Paris□S.P.L.□1975□□and Marcel Le Page□*Cao-Bang□La tragique épopée de la colunne Le Page*□Paris□Nouvelles éditions latines□1981□□

[21] Bernard Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War 1946-1954*□Harrisburg□Pa.□Stackpole Books□1961□□33□Giap□*Road to Dien Bien Phu*□108.

[22] Hanoi to FO□November 15□1950□FO 959/48□TNA.

[23] Christopher E. Goscha□“Soigner la guerre *moi*□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Chris Goscha□□□□□□□□□□

[24] O’Ballance□*Indo-China War*□116.

[25] □□□Giap□*Road to Dien Bien Phu*□53□59□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*China and the Vietnam Wars□1950-1975*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2000□□64□

[26] “Report on Thai Binh operation□” November 24□1950□FO 959/48□TNA.

[27] □□□□□□□□*Road to Dien Bien Phu*□4□□□□□□□□□

[28] Martin Thomas□“French Imperial Reconstruction and the Development of the Indochina War□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□147-51.

[29] Pierre Mendès France□*Oeuvres complètes*□vol. 2□*Une politique de l’économie 1943-1954*□Paris□Gallimard□1985□□297-307□Eric Roussel□*Pierre Mendès France*□Paris□Gallimard□2007□□196-97. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Hugues Tertrais□*La piastre et le fusil□Le coût de la guerre d’Indochine 1945-1954*□Paris□Comité pour l’histoire économique et financière de la France□2002□□90-102□

[30] Spector□*Advice and Support*□131-34.

[31] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□Kathryn C. Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□32□

[32] Kathryn C. Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□25-28□Spector□*Advice and Support*□123.

[33] Spector□*Advice and Support*□127□“Monthly Report□” November 28□1950□FO 959/57□TNA.

[34] Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II Through Dienbienphu*□New York□W.W. Norton□1989□□104.

[35] Ngo Van Chieu□*Journal d’un combattant Viêt-minh*□Paris□Édi-tions du Seuil□1955□□128-29□140-41□quoted in Lockhart□*Nation in Arms*□237.

[illegible] [illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]1950[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Bernard de Lattre de Tassigny[illegible]30[illegible]15[illegible]Médaille militaire[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”10[illegible]23[illegible][3]

[illegible]12[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]

□□
□□”[4]

□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1889□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mouilleron-en-Pareds□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Georges Clemenceau□□□□□□·□·□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□Marshal Lyautey□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□14□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1944□1945□□□□□□□□□□□1944□8□15□□12.5□□□□□□□[5]

□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□“□□□□”□□□

□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Lanvin□□□□□——□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]·[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]Western Union[illegible]——[illegible]

1950[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Shaplen[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

12[illegible]13[illegible]2000[illegible]·[illegible]“les gars”[illegible]12[illegible]19[illegible]

“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible]”[9]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

- S.M. BAODAI et le Général d'Armée DE LATTRE DE TASSIGNY dans la Tribune, peu avant le défilé, qui suivit l'imposante cérémonie de remise de décorations, ouverte par la remise du Général DE LATTRE, des mains mêmes du Chef de l'Etat Vietnamien, du Grand Cordon de l'Ordre National du Vietnam.

1951[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible][12]

[illegible]·[illegible]1949[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]1000[illegible]355[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

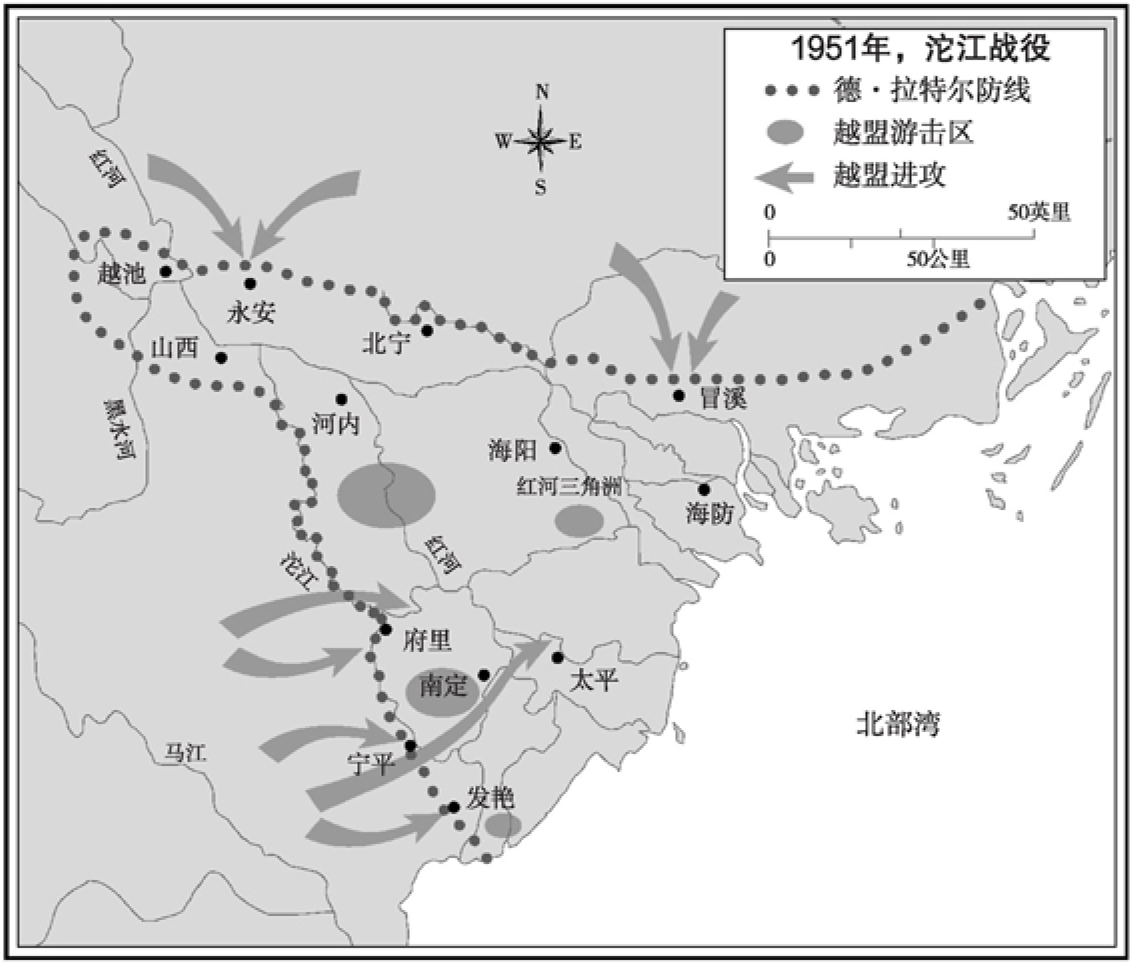
[illegible]·[illegible][13][illegible]Vietnamese National Army[illegible]VNA[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]11[illegible]9[illegible]25[illegible]4[illegible]8[illegible][14]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]B-26[illegible]105[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][15]

[illegible]

[illegible]80[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[16][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]



[illegible]——[illegible]308[illegible]312[illegible]65[illegible]12[illegible]8[illegible]5000[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]Service de Documentation Extérieure et de contre-espionnage[illegible]SDECE[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]40[illegible]1951[illegible]1[illegible]13[illegible]

[illegible]308[illegible]Bao Chuc[illegible]——[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]14[illegible]15[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][18]

[illegible]1[illegible]17[illegible]312[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Vanuxem[illegible]6000[illegible]8000[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

> [illegible]

> [illegible][19]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]23[illegible]·R. [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

□□□3□□□□□□21□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□3□□25%□□□□□□400□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[21]

□□□□□□5□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□320□□

5□29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□8□□□6□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9000□□□□1000□□□□[22]

□□□——□□□□□□□□□——□□□

[illegible]——[illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible][24]

[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25][illegible]·[illegible]1914[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[26]

[illegible][27]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Tran Van Huu[illegible]——[illegible][28]

[illegible]·[illegible]1950[illegible]12[illegible]19[illegible]1951[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[29][illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][30]

[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[illegible][31]

[illegible][32]

[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]8[illegible]4[illegible][33]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]

□□□
□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□”[34]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□
□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
500□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[35]□□□□□□□□□□
□□□

□

□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□
□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□·□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Economic Aid Mission□STEM□□□□
□□□
□□□
□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[36]

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□U.S. Information Service□
USIS□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□
□□□
□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□”[37]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][38][illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]23[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]

> [illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible][39]

[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]A.G.[illegible]-[illegible]A. G. Trevor-Wilson[illegible]·[illegible][40]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Tillman

Durdin[illegible]Peggy[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Max Clos[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]1948[illegible]·E. [illegible]Thomas E.Dewey[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]9[illegible]9[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Henry Cabot Lodge[illegible]·[illegible][42]

[illegible]

9[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Île de France[illegible]·[illegible]Humphrey Bogart[illegible]·[illegible]Lauren Bacall[illegible]*The African Queen*[illegible]·[illegible]Katharine Hepburn[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][44]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][45]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Lovett[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[46]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1200[illegible]NBC[illegible]*Meet the Press*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]12[illegible][47]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[48]

[illegible]9[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[49]

[illegible]

1951□10□23□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□

□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□□□□□□50□□□□□□□□□□□□30□□□1951□□□□□□□□□□□□968□□□□□906□□□□□□□□□□□□□444□□393□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□J.□□·□□□□J.Lawton Collins□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]·[illegible]13[illegible]2.4[illegible]8000[illegible]650[illegible]200[illegible]1.4[illegible]3500[illegible][50]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[51]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52]

□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□[53]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□1951□□1952□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□

□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□“□·□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□1952□1953□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□7□□□·□□·□□□Charles Marie Chanson□□□□□□□□□□□□□Thai Lap Thanh□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□1946□1947□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[54]

□□

[illegible][55]

[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][56]

11[illegible]14[illegible]3[illegible]22[illegible]2[illegible]15[illegible]12[illegible]304[illegible]308[illegible]312[illegible]6[illegible]316[illegible]320[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1952[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible][57][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]11[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]——1951[illegible]1952[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——“[illegible]”[58]

[illegible]·[illegible]12[illegible]18[illegible]1952[illegible]1[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”1[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][59]

“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]55[illegible]1952[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible][60]

[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]Guy Salisbury-Jones[illegible]*So Full a Glory*[illegible]*A Biography of Marshal de Lattrede Tassigny*[illegible]London[illegible]Weidenfeld & Nicolson[illegible]1954[illegible]247[illegible]

[2] [illegible]Guy Salisbury-Jones[illegible]*So Full a Glory*[illegible]*A Biography of Marshal de Lattrede Tassigny*[illegible]London[illegible]Weidenfeld & Nicolson[illegible]1954[illegible]247[illegible]

[3] Anthony Clayton[illegible]*Three Marshals of France*[illegible]*Leadership After Trauma*[illegible]London[illegible]Brassey’s[illegible]1992[illegible]149.[illegible]Jean de Lattre de Tassigny[illegible]*La ferveuret le sacrifice*[illegible]*Indochine 1951*[illegible]ed. Jean-Luc Barré[illegible]Paris[illegible]Plon[illegible]1988[illegible]47-50[illegible]

[4] Lucien Bodard[illegible]*The Quicksand War*[illegible]*Prelude to Vietnam*[illegible]Boston[illegible]Little[illegible]Brown[illegible]1967[illegible]351.

[5] [illegible]1951[illegible]9[illegible]24[illegible]Clayton[illegible]*Three Marshals of France*[illegible]22-34[illegible]

[6] [illegible]1951[illegible]8[illegible]26[illegible]1951[illegible]9[illegible]24[illegible]

[7] [illegible]Salisbury-Jones[illegible]*So Full a Glory*[illegible]246[illegible]Salisbury-Jones[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Darcourt[illegible]*De Lattre au Viet-Nam*[illegible]*Une année de victoires*[illegible]Paris[illegible]La table ronde[illegible]1965[illegible]·[illegible]de Lattre[illegible]*La ferveur et le sacrifice*[illegible]

[8] Robert Shaplen[illegible]*The Lost Revolution*[illegible]*The U.S. in Vietnam*[illegible]*1946-1966*[illegible]New York[illegible]Harper & Row[illegible]1966[illegible]80[illegible]1951[illegible]8[illegible]26[illegible]

[9] [illegible]Norman Sherry[illegible]*The Life of Graham Greene*[illegible]vol. 2[illegible]*1939-1955*[illegible]New York[illegible]Viking[illegible]1995[illegible]361[illegible]Bernard Destremau[illegible]*Jean de Lattre de Tassigny*[illegible]Paris[illegible]Flammarion[illegible]1999[illegible]504-8[illegible]

[10] □□□□□□□1951□9□24□□Salisbury-Jones□*So Full a Glory*□248□

[11] □□□□□□□1951□9□24□□

[12] Rapport a Jean Letourneau□ministre des états associés□January 1□1951□printed in de Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□91-96□Clayton□*Three Marshals of France*□150-51.

[13] □□Hugues Tertrais□*La piastre et le fusil□Le coût de la guerre d'Indochine 1945-1954*□Paris□Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France□2002□□103-8□

[14] Clayton□*Three Marshals of France*□151.

[15] □□□□□□napalm□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□12□22□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2003□1□□□□□

[16] □□□□□□□□1952□12□5□□

[17] William J. Duiker□*The Communist Road to Power in Vietnam*□Boulder□Colo.□Westview□1996□□154-55.

[18] Bernard Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War 1946-1954*□Harrisburg□Pa.□Stackpole□1961□□37-38.

[19] Ngo Van Chieu□*Journal d'un combattant Viet-Minh*□Paris□Éditions du Seuil□1954□□□□Bernard Fall□*Street Without Joy*□39□□□lettre au Colonel Vanuxem□January 16□1951□printed in de Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□107-8□

[20] □□□□□□□1951□1□24□□Saigon to FO□January 23□1951□FO 959/107□TNA□

[21] Fall□*Street Without Joy*□41-43□Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□137□Darcourt□*De Lattre au Viet-nam*□88-103. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Memoirs of War□The Road to Dien Bien Phu*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□170-97□

[22] De Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□273-74□Edgar O'Ballance□*The Indo-China War□1945-1954*□London□Faber & Faber□1964□□134□Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□114-15.

[23] Duiker□*Communist Road*□157□Cecil B. Currey□*Victory at Any Cost□The Genius of Viet Nam's Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap*□Dulles□Va.□Potomac□2005□□174□Douglas Pike□"General Vo Nguyen Giap— Man on the Spot□" typescript□in author's possession□□May 1968□12□Tran Trong Trung oral history□Hanoi□June 12□2007□courtesy of Merle Pribbenow□.

[24] □□Howard R. Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire□An American in Vietnam□1952-1991*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey's□1992□□12□□□Greg Lockhart□*Nation in Arms□The Origins of the People's Army of Vietnam*□Wellington□N.Z.□Allen & Unwin□1989□□241□

[25] □□□□□□September 24□1951□

[26] Salisbury-Jones□*So Full a Glory*□260.

[27] De Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□255-59□Salisbury-Jones□*So Full a Glory*□260-61□Destremau□*De Lattre*□521-23□□□□□□□1951□6□11□□

[28] Office of the Military Attaché□British Legation-Saigon□Report No. 3□August 9□1951□FO 959/104□TNA.

[29] □□Salisbury-Jones□*So Full a Glory*□263-64□

[30] □□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Saigon to FO□June 29□1951□FO 959/109□TNA□

[31] □□Marilyn B. Young□"'The Same Struggle for Liberty'□Korea and Vietnam□" in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□342n22□□□*The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decisionmaking on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□67□

[32] □□Graham Greene□*Ways of Escape*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1980□□164-65□

[33] Saigon to FO□July 10□1951□FO 371/92453□TNA.

[34] Shaplen□*Lost Revolution*□81. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□de Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□281-91□

[35] MDAP Monthly Report□October 1951□G-3 091 Indochina□Record Group 319□NARA.

[36] □□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Télégramme a Jean Letourneau□April 16□1951□printed in de Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□228-30□□□Saigon to FO□April 28□1951□FO 959/109□TNA□Heath to Sec. State□June 14□1951□FRUS□1950□*East Asia and the Pacific*□VI□1□425ff□

[37] Young□"Same Struggle for Liberty□" 203□Kathryn C. Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□42-43.

[38] Acheson to Heath□July 13□1951□*FRUS□1950□East Asia and the Pacific*□VI□1□453.

[39] Discours-d'inauguration de la salle de lecture des services américans d'information□July 23□1951□printed in de Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□312-17□Saigon to FO□July 28□1951□FO 959/109□TNA.

[40] Hanoi to Saigon□July 30□1951□FO 959/109□TNA.

[41] Paris to FO□January 19□1952□FO 959/126□TNA. □□Salisbury-Jones□*So Full a Glory*□266□

[42] □□Paris to London□September 5□1951□FO 959/109□TNA□

[43] □□□□□□□1951□9□24□□Destremau□*De Lattre*□531-38□

[44] Jean de Lattre de Tassigny□"Indochine 1951□Ma Mission aux Etats-Unis□" *La revue deux mondes*□December 1951□387-89.

[45] □□□□□□□1951□9□15□□Spector□*Advice and Support*□143□

[46] Record of Meeting□September 20□1951□*FRUS□1951□Asia and the Pacific*□VI□1□517-21.

[47] □□□□□□□□1951□9□21□□Alan Brinkley□*The Publisher□Henry Luce and His American Century*□New York□Alfred A. Knopf□2010□□377□Robert E. Herzstein□*Henry R. Luce□Time□and the American Crusade in Asia*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2005□□168□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□de Lattre□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□345-352□

[48] □□□□□□□□1951□9□18□□

[49] □□□□□□□1951□9□24□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*La ferveur et le sacrifice*□354-362□

[50] Spector□*Advice and Support*□146.

[51] □□Salisbury-Jones□*So Full a Glory*□269□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□November 13□1951□Box 23□Collins Papers□Eisenhower Library□

[52] Geoffrey Perret□*Jack□A Life Like No Other*□New York□Random House□2001□□169□Robert Dallek□*An Unfinished Life□John F. Kennedy□1917-1963*□Boston□Little□Brown□2003□□168□Robert Mann□*A Grand Delusion□America’s Descent into Vietnam*□New York□Basic□2001□□85.

[53] Mann□*A Grand Delusion*□86.

[54] □□□□□□□1951□1□8□□Saigon to FO□November 8□1951□FO 959/107□TNA□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□H.A.□□□□□H. A. Graves□□□

[55] Military Attaché□British Legation□to Minister□August 9□1951□FO 959/107□TNA.

[56] Yves Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1979□□424-28.

[57] □□Fall□*Street Without Joy*□48-60□O’Ballance□*Indo-China War*□159-66□

[58] Greene□*Ways of Escape*□164.

[59] Edward Rice-Maximin□*Accommodation and Resistance□The French Left□Indochina and the Cold War*□Westport□Conn.□Greenwood□1986□□113□Clayton□*Three Marshals of France*□163.

[60] Paris to FO□January 19□1952□FO 959/126□TNA.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]2[illegible]30[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]8[illegible]2[illegible]32[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]11[illegible]2[illegible]30[illegible]13[illegible]”

[illegible][1]

[illegible]

> [illegible]11[illegible]……[illegible][2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3][illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Trinh Minh Thé□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1951□□□□□□□□□□□2500□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[4]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Quiet American*□□□□□□□□□□□□□·L.□□□□□Joseph L. Mankiewicz□□□□□·□□□□Philip Noyce□□□1951□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□A.G.□□□-□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□

□□□□□□□“□□□‘Si vous êtes arrêtes ou attaqués en cours de route□prévenez le chef du premier poste important.’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[5]

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Ways of Escape*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□

1951□□□□□□Hugh□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[6]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1928□□109□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mondial□□□421□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Givral□□[7]

□□□l’Amiral□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Arc-en-Ciel□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□Josephine Baker□□□□·□□Charles Trenet□□□[8]□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□Le Parc aux Buffles□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□The House of 500 Girls□□□□□□□□□□□□□□400□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[9]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□300□□□□”[10]

[illegible]1951[illegible]10[illegible]*The End of the Affair*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Emmet John Hughes[illegible]“[illegible]”

> [illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]3/4[illegible]14[illegible]9000[illegible]3000[illegible]4[illegible]
>
> [illegible]200[illegible]……
>
> [illegible][12]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]105[illegible]Le Huu Tu[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

1951□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□60□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Jean Leroy□□*The Third Man*□□□□□□□□□□[15]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Leo Hochstetter□□□·□□□Alden Pyle□□·□□□□Edward Lansdale□□□□□□□□

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]1952[illegible]3[illegible]214[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

> [illegible]……
>
> [illegible]——[illegible]……
>
> [illegible]——[illegible][17]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Blum[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1947[illegible]

1951[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1951[illegible]7[illegible]·[illegible]Sol Sanders[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]24[illegible]”[illegible]*Paris Match*[illegible]1952[illegible]7[illegible][19]

[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][21]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[22][illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]Pham Xuan An[illegible]——[illegible]Viet Cong[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[23]

[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]1951[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]1943[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]1938[illegible]1930[illegible]*The Name of Action*[illegible]20[illegible][25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]1[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]1[illegible]9[illegible]”[28]

[illegible]·[illegible]Hubert Graves[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

> [illegible]——[illegible][29]

[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]1952[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Norman Sherry[illegible]“[illegible]”[31]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1955[illegible]·[illegible][32]

[illegible]1952[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]Bata[illegible][33]

1952[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]Howard Simpson[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]Jean-Pierre Dannaud[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][34]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible][36][illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]Les Amerloques[illegible]——[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[37]

1952[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□·F.□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□[39]

□□□□□□2□9□□□□□□“□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[40]

---

[1] □□□□□□□1952□1□10□□

[2] □□□□□□□1952□1□28□□

[3] Saigon to Washington□January 10□1952□“Indo-China□Internal Affairs□1950-54□” Central Files□NARA.

[4] Saigon to FO□February 29□1952□FO 474/6□TNA. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Sergei Blagov□*Honest Mistakes□The Life and Death of Trình Minh Th’ê□1922-1955□□South Vietnam’s Alternative Leader*□Huntington□N.Y.□Nova Science□2001□□27-30□

[5] Graham Greene□*Ways of Escape*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1980□□161.

[6] Graham Greene□*Ways of Escape*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1980□□146□Richard Greene□ed.□*Graham Greene□A Life in Letters*□Toronto□AlfredA. Knopf Canada□2007□□182□187-88.

[7] Tom Curry□“Graham Greene’s Vietnam—The Quiet American□” Literary Traveler □http□//www.literarytraveler.com/authors/graham_greenes_vietnam.aspx□□□□□□□2009□4□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□David Lan Pham□*Two Hamlets in Nam Bo□Memoirs of Life in Vietnam*□Jefferson□N.C.□McFarland□2000□□chap. 4□

[8] □□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Seymour Topping□*Journey Between Two Chinas*□New York□Harper & Row□1972□□110-11.

[9] Andrew Forbes□“Graham Greene’s Saigon Revisited□” CPAMedia□http□//www.cpamedia.com/culture/graham_greene_saigon/□□□□□□□2009□4□18□□□Michael Shelden□*Graham Greene□The Enemy Within*□New York□Random House□1994□□322□Howard Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire□An American in Vietnam□1952-1991*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1992□□12□

[10] □□Norman Sherry□*The Life of Graham Greene*□vol. 2□*1939-1955*□New York□Viking□1995□□401□

[11] □□□□□□1951□10□29□□

[12] Letter of November 16□1951□in Greene□*Graham Greene*□193.□□Graham Greene diary entry for November 13□1951□Box 1□Graham Greene Papers□Georgetown University Library□hereafter GU□□

[13] Graham Greene□*The Quiet American*□New York□Viking□1956□□142.

[14] Graham Greene□*The Quiet American*□New York□Viking□1956□□43□Greene diary entry for December 16□1957□Box 1□Greene Papers□GU□□□Sherry□*Life of Graham* Greene□2□395-96□

[15] Greene diary entry for February 2□1952□Box 1□Greene Papers□GU□Joseph Buttinger□*Vietnam□A Dragon Embattled*□vol. 2□*Vietnam at War*□New York□Praeger□1967□□782-83□Greene□*Ways of Escape*□170.

[16] □Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□417-20□W. J. West□*The Quest for Graham Greene*□New York□St. Martin’s□1998□□157-58□Greene□*Ways of Escape*□169-79□

[17] Greene□*Quiet American*□124.

[18] Sol Sanders□“Viet Nam Has a Third Force□” *New Republic*□July 30□1951.□□□·□□□□Edwin Halsey□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□“The Third Force□” *Integrity* 5□May 1951□□33-39□

[19] Shelden□*Graham Greene*□327□Graham Greene□“Indo-China□France’s Crown of Thorns□” *Paris Match*□July 12□1952□reprinted in Graham Greene□*Reflections*□ed.Judith Adamson□New York□Reinhardt□1990□□129-47.

[20] Greene□“Indo-China□” 146.

[21] Letter to Catherine Walston□November 21□1951□Box 12□Catherine Walston-Graham Greene Papers□GU□Greene□*Ways of Escape*□125-27□Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□481-88.

[22] Lucien Bodard□“L’appel aux américains□” *L’Express*□1967□□□□Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□482□□□letter to Catherine Walston□December 11□1951□Box 13□Walston-Greene Papers□GU□

[23] Thomas A. Bass□*The Spy Who Loved Us□The Vietnam War and Pham Xuan An’s Dangerous Game*□New York□Public Affairs□2009□□54-55. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Larry Berman□*Perfect Spy□The Incredible Double Life of Pham Xuan An*□New York□Smithsonian Books□2007□□

[24] “Narrative of Lt. Col. A. G. Trevor-Wilson□” n.d.□Peter Dunn Collection□Virtual Vietnam Archive□Texas Tech University□Lubbock□Tex.□Shelden□*Graham Greene*□328-30.

[25] Sherry□Life of Graham Greene□2□437-46□Judith Adamson□*Graham Greene□the Dangerous Edge□Where Art and Politics Meet*□New York□St. Martin’s□1990□□131-32.

[26] Greene□*Quiet American*□16-17□29□H. Arthur Scott Trask□“The Quiet American□Graham Greene’s Brilliant Novel Shines as a New Film□” http□//www.lewrockwell.com/orig/trask2.html□□□□□□□2009□5□2□□□

[27] Greene□*Ways of Escape*□171□Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□430.

[28] Heath to State□February 14□1952□□□□Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□432□

[29] Saigon to FO□February 29□1952□FO 474/6□TNA.

[30] Jean Lartéguy□*Soldats perdus et fous de dieu□Indochine 1945-1955*□Paris□Presses de la cité□1986□□179-81□Nhi Lang□*Phong Trao Khang Chien Trinh Minh Thé*□Boulder□Colo.□Lion Press□1989□□107-9.

[31] Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□434.

[32] Jonathan Nashel□*Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2005□□156-57.

[33] David Lan Pham□*Two Hamlets in Nam Bo*□77□90.

[34] Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire*□4-5□8.

[35] Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire*□30-31.

[36] Lafayette□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[37] Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire*□32.

[38] Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire*□84□105.

[39] Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire*□34□Paris to FO□December 31□1951□FO 474/5□TNA.

[40] □□Sherry□*Life of Graham Greene*□2□441□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]40%[illegible]European Defense Community[illegible]EDC[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][1]

[illegible]1952[illegible]40[illegible]——[illegible]10[illegible]1952[illegible]

[illegible][2]

[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]1947[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[3]

1[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]1/7[illegible]1/6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

> [illegible]……[illegible]5000[illegible]5000[illegible][4]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]——[illegible][5]

[illegible]1952[illegible]3260[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[6]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Mohammad Ben Youssef[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Édouard Daladier[illegible]7000[illegible]3.2[illegible]13.4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][8][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1951[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]（Christian Pineau）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]（Jean Monnet）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]（Lloyd Gardner）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][12]

[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]1952[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Letourneau[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]1952[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

6[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1952[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1899[illegible]Nîmes[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]10[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]1950[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]Nghia Lo[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][17]

[illegible]7[illegible]Cap St.Jacques[illegible]8[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]4[illegible]23[illegible][18]

[illegible]30[illegible][19]

[illegible]1952[illegible]4[illegible]4000[illegible]450[illegible]120[illegible]40[illegible]50[illegible]30[illegible]35[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][21]

[illegible]308[illegible]312[illegible]316[illegible]3[illegible]Phu Tho[illegible]Yen Bai[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]10[illegible]15[illegible]312[illegible]40[illegible]Gia Hoi[illegible]·[illegible]Marcel Bigeard[illegible]6[illegible]Lu Te[illegible]

□□□□□□□10□17□□□5□□□□□308□□700□□□——□□□11□□□□□□[23]

□□[24]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□“□□□□”□□□□[25]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1950□10□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[26]

□□Clear River□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Phu Doan□□□□□Tuyen Quang□□10□29□□□□“□□□□”□Operation Lorraine□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□Phu Yen Binh□□□[27]

□□□□□□□□□□□11□14□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]——2[illegible]11[illegible]17[illegible]Chan Muong Pass[illegible]300[illegible]2[illegible]1200[illegible]·[illegible][28]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[29][30]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]‘[illegible]1928[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][31]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]——[illegible]’[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]”[32]

[illegible]

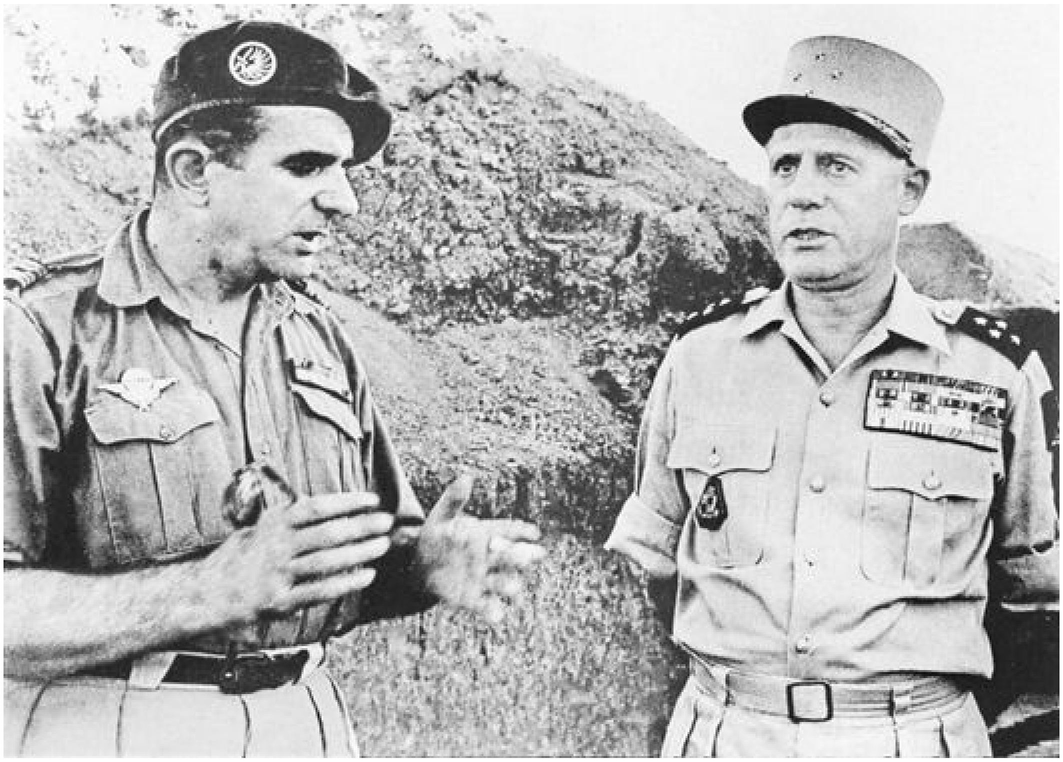
[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Starobin[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Daily Worker*[illegible]“[illegible]200[illegible]250[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible]30[illegible]200[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[33]

[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]Na San[illegible]188[illegible]C-47[illegible]15[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]base aéro-terrestre[illegible][34]

[illegible]11[illegible]23[illegible]308[illegible]105[illegible]11[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]B-26[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]1000[illegible]6000[illegible][35]



1952[illegible]**11**[illegible]**28**[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Gilles[illegible]——[illegible]3000[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[36]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]19[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]50[illegible][37]

[illegible]1952[illegible]——[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]16[illegible]——[illegible]1936[illegible]1952[illegible]——[illegible]80[illegible]”[39]

[illegible]1952[illegible][40]

[illegible]1952[illegible]12[illegible]48[illegible][41]

[illegible]19[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph-Simon Gallieni[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1950[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]·[illegible]1953[illegible]

---

[1] Marc Trachtenberg□*A Constructed Peace□The Making of the European Settlement□1945-1963*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1999□□110-25□Laurent Cesari□“The Declining Value of Indochina□France and the Economics of Empire□1950-1955□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□181-88.

[2] Robert J. McMahon□*The Limits of Empire□The United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II*□New York□Columbia University Press□1999□□61.

[3] □□□□□□□1952□6□8□□

[4] □□Alexander Werth□“Indo-China□The French Must Choose□” *Nation*□January 26□1952□

[5] “Critical Developments in French Policy Toward Indochina□” January 10□1952□CIA Office of National Estimates□http□//www.faqs.org/cia/docs/127/0001167457/critical-developments-in-french-policy-toward-indochina. html□□□□□□□2010□9□18□□□

[6] Werth□“Indo-China□” 77.

[7] □□□□□1952□1□16□□

[8] *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and the First Indochina War□1947-1954* □Washington□D.C.□Office of Joint History□Office of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff□2004□□240□Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□152□“Military Situation in Indo-China□” February 5□1952□FO 371/101069□TNA.

[9] Memo of Conversation□March 21□1952□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□75-77□Edward Rice-Maximin□*Accommodation and Resistance□The French Left□Indochina and the Cold War*□Westport□Conn.□Greenwood□1986□□117□Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II Through Dienbienphu* □NewYork□W.W. Norton□1989□□119.

[10] Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□118.

[11] Melvyn P. Leffler□“Negotiating from Strength□Acheson□the Russians□and American Power□” in Douglas Brinkley□ed.□*Dean Acheson and the Making of American Foreign Policy*□New York□St. Martin’s□1993□□176-210.

[12] □□Fredrik Logevall□“Bernath Lecture□A Critique of Containment□” *Diplomatic History*□September 2004□□Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall□*America’s Cold War□The Politics of Insecurity*□Cambridge□Mass.□Belknap Press/Harvard University Press□2009□□chap. 3□

[13] Rosemary Foot□*The Wrong War□American Policy and the Dimensions of the Korean Conflict□1950-1953*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1985□□Foot□*A Substitute for Victory□The Politics of Peacemaking at the Korean Armistice Talks*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1990□□x-xi□158. □□Bruce Cumings□□□□□*The Origins of the Korean War*□vol. 2□*The Roaring of the Cataract*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1990□□chap. 3□

[14] June 14□1952□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□183-87□June 16□1952□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□189-95□June 17□1952□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□197-202□Irwin Wall□*The United States and the Making of Postwar France□1945-1954*□New York□Cambridge University Press□1991□□248.

[15] NSC-124/2□June 25□1952□*United States-Vietnam Relations 1945-1967□Study Prepared by the Department of Defense*□Washington□D.C.□Government

Printing Office□1971□□8□531-34.

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mémoires□*Fin d’un empire*□vol. 2□*Le Viêt-minh mon adversaire*□Paris□Presses de la cité□1971□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□volume 1□

[17] □□□□□□Alistair Horne□*A Savage War of Peace□Algeria□1954-1962*□New York□NYRB Classics□2006□□180□

[18] □□□□□□1952□8□4□□

[19] Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□119.

[20] Edgar O’Ballance□*The Indo-China War□1945-1954*□London□Faber & Faber□1964□□171□Chen Jian□*Mao’s China and the Cold War*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2001□□129.

[21] Chen Jian□*Mao’s China*□130-31.

[22] □□Bernard Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War 1946-1954*□Harrisburg□Pa.□Stackpole Books□1961□□65□

[23] Yves Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1979□□474-79□Phillip B. Davidson□*Vietnam at War□The History□1946-1975*□New York□Oxford University Press□1991□□141.

[24] Windrow□*Last Valley*□121□*Time*□November 3□1952. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Fall□*Street Without Joy*□66-76□

[25] □□□□□□1952□11□3□□

[26] □□□□□□1952□11□3□□

[27] Vo Nguyen Giap□*Mémoires□1946-1954*□vol. 2□*Le chemin menant à Diên Biên Phu*□Fontenay-sous-Bois□Anako□2004□□261-76□Windrow□*Last Valley*□124.

[28] Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□479-82□David T. Zabecki□“Operation Lorraine□Costly French Failure□” *Vietnam*□December 2001□□18-25□57□Salan□*Le Viêt-minh mon adversaire*□337-40.

[29] Blaise Pascal□□□

[30] □□Joseph Starobin□*Eyewitness in Indo-China*□New York□Cameron & Kahn□1954□□67□

[31] “Back to the Jungle□” *Images of War* 4□no. 51□n.d.□.

[32] “Back to the Jungle□” *Images of War* 4□no. 51□n.d.□.□Windrow□*Last Valley*□120-22.

[33] Starobin□*Eyewitness in Indo-China*□73.

[34] Jacques Favreau and Nicolas Dufour□*Nasan□La victoireoubliée*□Paris□Economica□1999□.

[35] Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□483-88□O’Ballance□*Indo-China War*□184-86□Favreau and Dufour□*Nasan*.

[36] □□□□□□1953□1□12□*□*□□□□□□1953□1□5□*□*

[37] William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□442-43.

[38] Duong Van Mai Elliott□*The Sacred Willow□Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*□New York□Oxford University Press□2000□□229-30.

[39] Duong Van Mai Elliott□*The Sacred Willow□Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family*□New York□Oxford University Press□2000□□230.

[40] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□444. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Xuan Phuong and Danièle Mazingarbe□*Ao Dai□My War□My Country□My Vietnam*□GreatNeck□N.Y.□EMQUAD□2004□□128-29□

[41] □□□□□□1953□1□12□*□*

[42] “A Translation from the French□Lessons of the War in Indochina□Volume 2□” trans. V. J. Croizat□Santa Monica□Calif.□Rand Corporation□1967□□112. □□David W. P. Elliott□*The Vietnamese War□Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975*□Armonk□N.Y.□M.E. Sharpe□2007□□71-75□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]1952[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”（hidden-hand）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·E.[illegible]（Adlai E.Stevenson）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”。[1]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible][3]

[illegible]1907[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]John Watson Foster[illegible]·[illegible]Benjamin Harrison[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]eating clubs[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Lansing[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]1919[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]Sullivan & Cromwell[illegible]1927[illegible][5]

[illegible]——[illegible]1944[illegible]1948[illegible]·E.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]1[illegible]65[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1942[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]Harold Macmillan[illegible]1953[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]·[illegible]Reinhold Niebuhr[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[7][illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9]

[illegible][10]

[illegible]1951[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][11]

[illegible]1951[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”11[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][12]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]French National Political Science Institute[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]·[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]·[illegible]1952[illegible]6[illegible]Nguyen Van Tam[illegible][15]

[illegible]2[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□……□□”[16]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1952□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□1953□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Joseph Collins□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□3□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[17]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□13.9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□900□□□□□1.5□□□□□□□2500□□□□2.4□□□□□□□7.5□□□□□□□□9000□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□160□F-6F□F-8F□□□□41□B-26□□□□□□□28□C-47□□□□□□155□□□□□□□9.3□□□□□[18]□□□

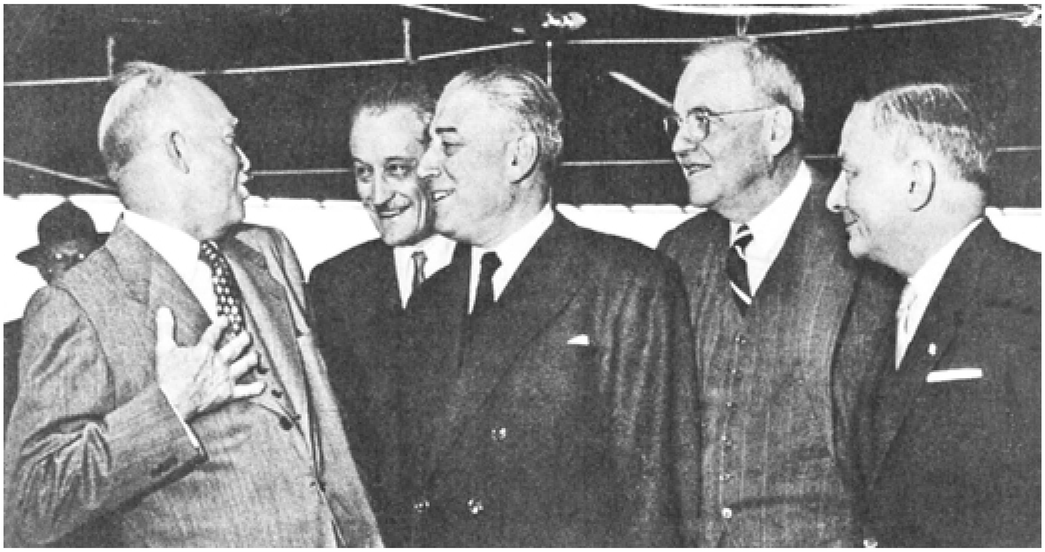
□□1953□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□1952□□□□1953□□[19]

[illegible]·[illegible]René Mayer[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible]

> [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]



1953[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]600[illegible]1955[illegible]·W.[illegible]Arthur W. Radford[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·J.H.[illegible]Thomas J. H. Trapnell[illegible]4[illegible][22]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible][23]

[illegible]4[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]C.[illegible]·[illegible]C. Douglas Dillon[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

1953[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[25][illegible]

1949□1950□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Augustin Guillaume□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□1946□11□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Henri Navarre□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□[26]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□C-119“□□□”□□□□
□□
□□□□□□NSC-149/2□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□
□□□□□□□□5□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Robert Cutler□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□NSC-149/2□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[27]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□10□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□350□400□□□1□□□□□□□□□□
□50□□□□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□17□□1□□
□□□□□□□□□□□150%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□1□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]5[illegible]140[illegible]
[illegible]Banque d’Indochine[illegible]500[illegible]50%[illegible][28]

[illegible]——[illegible]*L’Observateur*[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]Jacques Despuech[illegible]Currency Exchange Office[illegible]*Le trafic des piastres*[illegible][29][illegible]40%[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][31][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Edgar Faure[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]19%[illegible][32]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[33]

[illegible]·[illegible]1940[illegible]1952[illegible]*Histoire du Viêt-Nam de 1940 à 1952*[illegible]·[illegible]*Viêt-Nam*[illegible]*sociologie d’une guerre*[illegible][34][illegible]*Paris-Presse*[illegible]·[illegible]Max Harmier[illegible][35][illegible]*L’Express*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[36]

[illegible]-[illegible]5[illegible]21[illegible]-[illegible]301[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]300[illegible]M.[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]406[illegible][37]

6[illegible]17[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible][38]

[illegible]-[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1953[illegible]-[illegible]1953[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Laniel[illegible]36[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

---

[1] Richard H. Immerman[illegible]*John Foster Dulles*[illegible]*Piety*[illegible]*Pragmatism*[illegible]*and Power in U.S. Foreign Policy*[illegible]Wilmington[illegible]Del.[illegible]Scholarly Resources[illegible]1998[illegible]43[illegible]David M.

Oshinsky□*A Conspiracy So Immense□The World of Joe McCarthy*□New York□Oxford University Press□2005□□197-202.

[2] Stephen E. Ambrose□*Nixon□vol. 1□The Education of a Politician□1913-1962*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1987□□298.

[3] □□Chester Pach□“Introduction□” in Kathryn C. Statler and Andrew L. Johns□*The Eisenhower Administration□the Third World□and the Globalization of the Cold War*□Lanham□Md.□Rowman& Littlefield□2006□□Kenneth Osgood□*Total Cold War□Eisenhower’s Secret Propaganda Battle at Home and Abroad*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2006□□7□372n9□

[4] □□□□□□□□□Walter LaFeber□*The American Age□United States Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad□1750 to the Present*□New York□W.W. Norton□1994□□2□537□□□□□□□□□□David Halberstam□*The Fifties*□New York□Villard□1993□□393□

[5] Immerman□*John Foster Dulles*□chap. 1.

[6] Halberstam□*Fifties*□392□Peter Grose□*Gentleman Spy□The Life of Allen Dulles*□Boston□Houghton Miffl in□1994□□333□Harold Macmillan□*The Macmillan Diaries□The Cabinet Years□1950-1957*□ed. Peter Catterall□London□Macmillan□2003□□230.

[7] □□□□□□□Halberstam□*Fifties*□389□

[8] □□Robert Divine□*Eisenhower and the Cold War*□New York□Oxford University Press□1981□□21□

[9] Elizabeth N. Saunders□*Leaders at War□How Presidents Shape Military Interventions*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□2011□□56-57.

[10] Richard H. Immerman□“Prologue□Perceptions by the United States of Its Interests in Indochina□” in Lawrence S. Kaplan□Denise Artaud□and Mark Rubin□eds.□*Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations□1954-1955*□Wilmington□Del.□Scholarly Resources□1990□□12-13.

[11] □□□□James R. Arnold□*The First Domino□Eisenhower□the Military□and America’s Intervention in Vietnam*□New York□William Morrow□1991□□74□

[12] Lodge diary□November 16□1951□Papers of Henry Cabot Lodge□Jr.□Massachusetts Historical Society□Boston□Mass. □□Zachary Matusheski□□□□□□□□□□□

[13] Arnold□*First Domino*□83. □□John Foster Dulles□*War or Peace*□New York□Macmillan□1950□□231□

[14] □□Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II Through Dienbienphu*□New York□W.W. Norton□1989□□135□

[15] Harry S. Truman□*Memoirs by Harry S. Truman*□vol. 2□*Years of Trial and Hope□1946-1952*□Garden City□N.Y.□Doubleday□1956□□519□Heath to Sec. State□February 4□1953□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□378-81.

[16] *Public Papers of the Presidents□Dwight D. Eisenhower*□Washington□D.C.□Government Printing Office□1960□□16□Robert J. McMahon□*The Limits of Empire□The United States and Southeast Asia Since World War II*□New York□Columbia University Press□1999□□63□*NYT*□January 28□1953.

[17] Carl W. McCardle oral history□OH-116□□by John Luter□August 29□1967□Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library□Abilene□Kan.□Memcon□January 28□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□362□Memcon□March 24□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□419-20.

[18] Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□167-68.

[19] □□□□□□□□□□“□□□”November 52□DEFE 13/2/8□TNA. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Macmillan□*Macmillan Diaries*□228□

[20] “Relations franco-américaines□” January 21□1953□457 AP 44□Dossier 2□Papiers Georges Bidault□AN□Irwin Wall□*The United States and the Making of Postwar France□1945-1954*□New York□Cambridge University Press□1991□□250□Kathryn C. Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□62-63.

[21] George W. Allen□*None So Blind□A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam*□Chicago□Ivan R. Dee□2001□□46.

[22] JCS memo to Wilson□April 21□1953□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□493-95□Arthur Radford□*From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam□The Memoirs of Admiral Arthur W. Radford*□ed. Stephen Jurika□Stanford□Calif.□Hoover InstitutionPress□1980□□362. □□Spector□*Advice and Support*□170-71□Dwight D.

Eisenhower□*Mandate for Change□1953-1956*□Garden City□N.Y.□Doubleday□1963□□168□

[23] Arnold□*First Domino*□114.

[24] Memo of discussion□NSC□April 28□1953□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□516-19□Eisenhower to Dillon□May 6□1953□International File□France□1953□3□□Box 10□Eisenhower Library.

[25] Vincent Auriol□*Journal du Septennat□1947-1954*□vol. 7□*1953-1954*□Paris□ArmandColin□1971□□220.

[26] Dillon Memorandum□April 9□1953□Ann Whitman File□Box 1□Dulles-HerterSeries□Eisenhower Library□SecState to Paris□May 6□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□550-51. □□□Ann Whitman File□Box 1□Dulles-HerterSeries□Eisenhower Library□SecState to Paris□May 6□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□561□62□

[27] Memo of discussion□NSC□April 28□1953□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□516-19□Memo of discussion□NSC□May 6□1953□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□546-49.

[28] Douglas Porch□*The French Secret Services□A History of French Intelligence from the Dreyfus Affair to the Gulf War*□New York□Farrar□Straus & Giroux□1995□□323-24.

[29] □□*L'Observateur*□May 8□1953□Jacques Despuech□*Le trafic des piastres*□Paris□Deux Rives□1953□□□□Hugues Tertrais□*La piastre et le fusil□Le coûtde la guerre d'Indochine 1945-1954*□Paris□Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France□2002□□133-50□

[30] Ellen J. Hammer□*The Struggle for Indochina□1940-1955*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1955□□300-1□*NYT*□May 20□1953.

[31] CIA Office of National Estimates□“Staff Memorandum No. 349□French Political Developments□” April 30□1953□NSC Staff Papers□Box 12□PSB Central Files□Eisenhower Library.

[32] State Department memcon□“Metropolitan French Opinions and Attitudes on Indochina War□” May 4□1953□NSC Staff Papers□Box 12□PSB Central Files□Eisenhower Library. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“65%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□”□□□□□□□1954□2□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tertrais□*La piastre et le fusil*□

[33] Paris to FO□May 30□1953□FO 371/106752□TNA.

[34] □□□□□□□1952□□

[35] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1953□5□9□□□M.□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□1953□5□9□□

[36] “La France peut supporter la vérité□” L’Express□May 16□1953□Edward RiceMaximin□*Accommodation and Resistance□The French Left□Indochina and the Cold War*□Westport□Conn.□Greenwood□1986□□136.

[37] □□□□□□□Jacques Dalloz□*The War in Indo-China□1945-1954*□NewYork□Barnes & Noble□1990□□163. Dillon comment in Paris to SecState□July 2□1953□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□631-32□

[38] Paris to SecState□June 17□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□610-12.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]1947[illegible]1950[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]1951[illegible]1952[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1944[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]1.3[illegible]——[illegible]50[illegible]——[illegible][3][illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]18[illegible]69[illegible]341[illegible]1140[illegible]3683[illegible]6008[illegible]12019[illegible]14093[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]10[illegible][4]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]John O’Daniel[illegible]1953[illegible]6[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]1955[illegible][8]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible][11][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

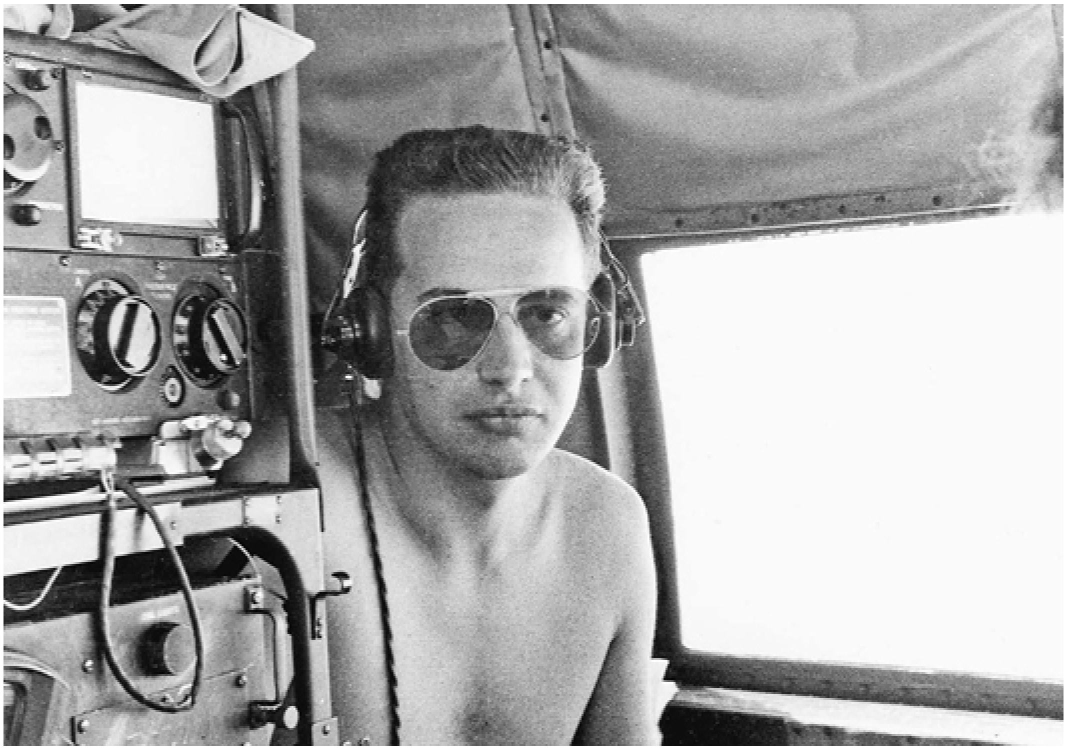
[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]27[illegible]·[illegible]Marc Jacquet[illegible][14]

1953[illegible]·B.[illegible]Syracuse University[illegible]1967[illegible]1926[illegible]1942[illegible]11[illegible]16[illegible][15][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]
1951[illegible]1952[illegible]

[illegible]1966[illegible]“1952[illegible]”[16]



1953[illegible]·[illegible]

1953[illegible]5[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][17]

[illegible]“[illegible]800[illegible]200[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]70%[illegible]——[illegible][19]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Dennis Duncan[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]Time Inc.[illegible]C.D.[illegible]C.D. Jackson[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[24][illegible][25][illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][26]

[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]2000[illegible]10[illegible]B-26[illegible]56[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]80[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]2[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]1954[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Barry Goldwater[illegible]9[illegible]3.85[illegible]

[illegible]350[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·F.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]William Knowland[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”9[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible][33]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Mike Mansfield[illegible]1953[illegible]1953[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·F.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]9[illegible]21[illegible]——[illegible]

60%“”——
——·Denis Warner“”[36]

“”“”“”“”[37]

“”——
——

“”5·73“”

[illegible]

[illegible]58[illegible]——[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[38][illegible]

10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[40][illegible]·[illegible]Prince Buu Loc[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Alain Savary[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[43]

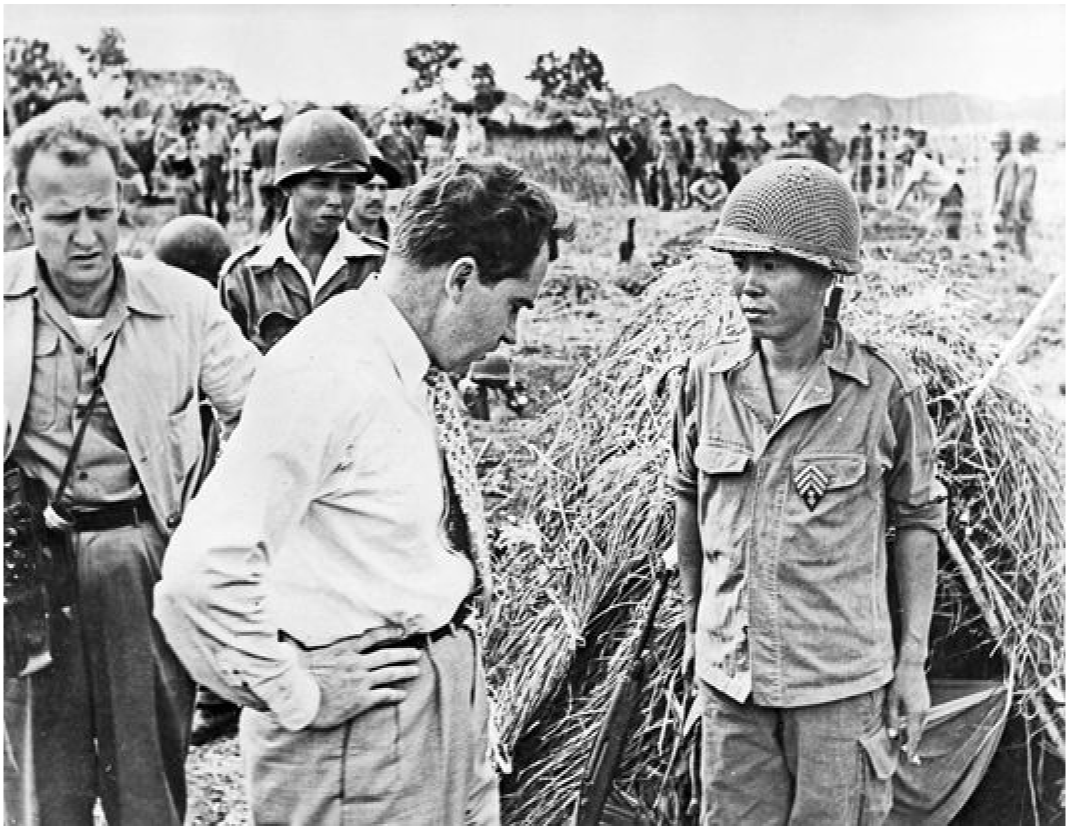
[illegible]·[illegible]1946[illegible]11[illegible]1949[illegible]7[illegible]1950[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]1953[illegible]·[illegible]*L’Affaire Henri Martin*[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44]

[illegible]10[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[45]

[illegible]



1953[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]31[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]King Norodom Sihanouk[illegible]Penn Nouth[illegible]·[illegible][46][illegible]·[illegible]Prince Souvanna Phouma[illegible]·[illegible]Maurice Dejean[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]·[illegible]René Cogny[illegible][47]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[48]

[illegible]19[illegible]B-52[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[49]

[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50][illegible]

> [illegible]——[illegible]
>
> [illegible][51]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[52]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1953[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

---

[1] Jules Roy[illegible]*The Battle of Dienbienphu*[illegible]trans. Robert Baldick[illegible]New York[illegible]Harper &Row[illegible]1965[illegible]7[illegible]Stanley Karnow[illegible]*Vietnam[illegible]A History*[illegible]New York[illegible]Viking[illegible]1983[illegible]204.

[2] [illegible]“[illegible]”Henri Navarre[illegible]*Agonie de l’Indochine*[illegible]Paris[illegible]Plon[illegible]1956[illegible]2.

[3] 1953[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]316438[illegible]11394[illegible]10890[illegible]104113[illegible]75380[illegible]5468[illegible]523683[illegible]“Appendix B[illegible]” May 4[illegible]1953[illegible]FO 371/106777[illegible]TNA. [illegible]Vo Nguyen Giap[illegible]*Dien Bien Phu[illegible]Rendezvous with History*[illegible]Hanoi[illegible]Gioi[illegible]2004[illegible]9[illegible]

[4] Roy[illegible]*Battle of Dienbienphu*[illegible]12.

[5] [illegible]1953[illegible]6[illegible]29[illegible]James Cable[illegible]*The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*[illegible]London[illegible]Macmillan[illegible]1986[illegible]22[illegible]*Agonie de l’Indochine*[illegible]1-3[illegible]p.67[illegible]

[6] Pierre Rocolle[illegible]*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu[illegible]*[illegible]Paris[illegible]Flammarion[illegible]1968[illegible]21[illegible]Paul ély[illegible]*L’Indochinedans la tourmente*[illegible]Paris[illegible]Plon[illegible]1964[illegible]25.

[7] David Halberstam[illegible]*The Fifties*[illegible]New York[illegible]Villard[illegible]1993[illegible]400.

[8] George W. Allen□*None So Blind□A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam*□Chicago□Ivan R. Dee□2001□□46-47□Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□175□Hugues Tertrais□“Stratégie et decisions□” in Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□eds.□*1954-2004□La bataille de DienBien Phu□entre histoire et mémoire*□Paris□Société française d’histoire d’outre-mer□2004□□30-31□Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□*Paroles de Dien Bien Phu□Les survivants témoignent*□Paris□Tallandier□2004□□46-51.

[9] Navarre□*Agonie de l’Indochine*□28.□□□□□□□□□□□□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□628□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

[10] O’Daniel to Radford□June 30□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□625□Spector□*Advice and Support*□175. 7□24□□Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□51-53□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Saigon to FO□July 2□1953□FO 371/106761□TNA□

[11] Bernard B. Fall□“Post-Mortems on Dien Bien Phu□Review Article□” *Far Eastern Survey* 27□no. 10□October 1958□□156.

[12] Memcon□July 12□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□656-67.

[13] “Note générale sur la politique française en Indochine□” July 21□1953□Box 31□René Mayer Papers□Series 363AP□AN.

[14] Paris to FO□August 11□1953□FO 474/7□TNA□Kathryn C. Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□73.

[15] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[16] □□Dorothy Fall□*Bernard Fall□Memories of a Soldier-Scholar*□Washington□D.C.□Potomac□2006□□55-81□

[17] Bernard Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War 1946-1954*□Harrisburg□Pa.□Stackpole Books□1961□□255-56.□□Fall□*Bernard Fall*□55-81□

[18] Fall□*Bernard Fall*□67.

[19] Bernard B. Fall□“Insurgency Indicators□” *Military Review* 46□April 1966□□4.

[20] Fall□*Bernard Fall*□67-70.

[21] “Appendix D□” April 11□1953□FO 371/106775□TNA.

[22] □□□□□□□□□1953□4□20□□

[23] Dennis Duncan□“The Year of the Snake□” *Life*□August 3□1953. □□□□□□□□□□□Bonnet to Bidault□July 24□1953□Dossier 1□AN 457 AP 52□AN□□□Saigon cables 391 and 461 in Record Group 59□751 G.00/9-353□9-1653□NARA□C. D. Jackson daily summary□August 5□1953□Box 68□C. D. Jackson Papers□Eisenhower Library□□□James Waite□“The End of the First Indochina War□An International History□” Ph.D. dissertation□Ohio University□2005□98-99□

[24] Rover Boy□□□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] Robert E. Herzstein□*Henry R. Luce□Time□and the American Crusade in Asia*□NewYork□Cambridge University Press□2005□□183-84.

[26] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Robert E. Herzstein□*Henry R. Luce□Time□and the American Crusade in Asia*□NewYork□Cambridge University Press□2005□□182-83□

[27] □□□□□□□1953□9□28□□

[28] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1953□3□28□□6□5□□10□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·W.□□□□Hanson W. Baldwin□□□□□□□□□□□□

[29] *United States-Vietnam Relations 1945-1967□Study Prepared by the Department of Defense*□Washington□D.C.□Government Printing Office□1971□□9□46.

[30] *The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decisionmaking on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□591-92.

[31] Washington to FO□August 1953□FO 371/103497.

[32] Paris to State□July 22□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□695. □□Spector□*Advice and Support*□176□

[33] □□□□□□□□1953□9□16□□“1953 Far East trip□” Series 364□Box 3□Nixon Pre-Presidential Papers□NARA-Laguna Niguel□

[34] Don Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield□The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat*□Washington□D.C.□Smithsonian□2003□□110-11□□□□□□□1953□2□21□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

[35] Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□117□Edward Miller□“Vision□Power and Agency□The Ascent of Ngô Dình Diêm□1945-54□” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35□October 2004□□446-47.

[36] □□□□□□Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□112□

[37] Mansfield□“Indochina□”□□□Washington□D.C.□GovernmentPrinting Office□1953□□□□Robert Mann□*A Grand Delusion□America’s Descent into Vietnam*□New York□Basic□2001□□120-21□

[38] □□□□□□□1953□8□10□□

[39] Binh Xuyen□□□□□□1945□□1976□□□□□□□□□□

[40] Bui Diem with David Chanoff□*In the Jaws of History*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1987□□79.

[41] Bui Diem with David Chanoff□*In the Jaws of History*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1987□□79-80□Bao Dai□*Le dragon d’Annam*□Paris□Plon□1980□□315.

[42] Saigon to State□October 17□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□828-30□Saigon to State□October 18□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□834-36.

[43] □□□□□□□1953□11□2□□Jacques Dalloz□*The War in Indo-China□1945-1954*□New York□Barnes & Noble□1990□□166□

[44] □□□□□□□1953□11□9□□Paris to FO□October 2□1953□FO 371/106770□TNA.

[45] Saigon to FO□November 10□1953□FO 474/7□TNA.

[46] Saigon to FO□November 10□1953□FO 474/7□TNA□Richard Nixon□*RN□The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*□New York□Grosset& Dunlap□1978□□122□“Conversations of Vice President Nixon with *Bao Dai*□” “1953 Far Eastern Trip□” Series 366□Box 2□Nixon Pre-Presidential Papers□NARA-Laguna Niguel.

[47] Nixon□*RN*□122-25.

[48] □□□□□□□□1953□11□3□□“1953 Far Eastern Trip□” Series 366□Box 2□Nixon Pre-Presidential Papers□NARA-Laguna Niguel□Saigon to FO□November 10□1953□FO 474/7□TNA□

[49] Saigon to FO□November 10□1953□FO 474/7□TNA.

[50] Memcon□NSC meeting□December 24□1953□Box 5□Ann Whitman File□NSC Series□Eisenhower Library.

[51] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□1□8□□Box 69□NSC Staff Papers□OCB Central File Series□Eisenhower Library□

[52] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□1□8□□Box 69□NSC Staff Papers□OCB Central File Series□Eisenhower Library□

[illegible] [illegible] 1953[illegible]1954[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]18[illegible]11[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]16[illegible]Tuan Giao[illegible]Muong Khoua[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1889[illegible]·[illegible]Auguste Pavie[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1939[illegible]274[illegible]“136[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1945[illegible]3[illegible]14[illegible]25[illegible]Potez 25[illegible][1]

[illegible]1952[illegible]11[illegible]316[illegible]146[illegible]1953[illegible]1[illegible]10[illegible]40[illegible]“[illegible]”[2][illegible]·[illegible]Nam Ou Valley[illegible]

[illegible]1952[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][4][illegible]1953[illegible]7[illegible]24[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][5][illegible]10[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]8[illegible]48[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]11[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]11[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]Georges Cabanier[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Castor[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Nicot[illegible]11[illegible]11[illegible]11[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

1953[illegible]11[illegible]20[illegible]8[illegible]15[illegible]60[illegible]B-26“[illegible]”[illegible]11[illegible]10[illegible]35[illegible]2200[illegible]·[illegible]15[illegible]53[illegible]90[illegible][9]

1953□11□20□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□

□□1953□1954□□1953□1□□“□□□□”□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□”[10]

[illegible]1952[illegible]250[illegible]12[illegible]450[illegible]8000[illegible]1953[illegible]1[illegible]900[illegible]20[illegible]37[illegible][11]

10[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][12]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]

> [illegible]……[illegible][14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][15][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]PAVN[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[16]

[illegible]1953[illegible]10[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Mouette[illegible]Phu Nho Quan[illegible]320[illegible]48[illegible]64[illegible]308[illegible]312[illegible]320[illegible][17]

[illegible]1[illegible]316[illegible][18][illegible]316[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]316[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]316[illegible][20]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]308[illegible]312[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]351[illegible]316[illegible]12[illegible]6[illegible]12[illegible]24[illegible]28[illegible]11[illegible]25[illegible]148[illegible]316[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Groupement de commandos mixtes aéroportés[illegible]GCMA[illegible]

11[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]949[illegible]”[illegible][21]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]·[illegible]1952[illegible]1951[illegible][22][illegible]380[illegible]800[illegible]

[illegible]14[illegible]18[illegible]28[illegible]14[illegible]1[illegible][23]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible][24][illegible]12[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][25]

[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible]3.5[illegible]1850[illegible]4000[illegible]

[illegible]1720[illegible]42570[illegible]

14500[illegible]300[illegible]4200[illegible]

[illegible]100[illegible]100[illegible]12[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]45

[illegible][26]

12[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]Hoang Van Thai[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]

[illegible]”[27]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1953[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]8[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible][28]

[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]Georgy Malenkov[illegible][29][illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

1953[illegible][30][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

11[illegible]23[illegible]World Peace Council[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]*Expressen*[illegible]·[illegible]Svante Löfgren[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][33]

[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]12[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]1[illegible]11[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Pronteau[illegible]30[illegible][37]

[illegible]330[illegible]250[illegible]——“[illegible]……[illegible]”——[illegible][38]

[illegible]11[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][40][illegible]Nguyen Van Hinh[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Ngo Dinh Nhu[illegible]“[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]

[illegible]1953[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]12[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42]

[illegible]——[illegible]C.S.[illegible]C.S. Forester[illegible]*Death to the French*[illegible]

[illegible]40[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Evelyn Shuckburgh[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]——[illegible][44]

[illegible][45][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][46]

1953[illegible]**12**[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”□[48][illegible]

---

[1] Bernard B. Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place□The Siege of Dien Bien Phu*□Philadelphia□Lippincott□1966□□22-23.

[2] Raoul Salan□*Mémoires□Find’un empire*□vol. 2□*Le Viêt-minh mon adversaire*□Paris□Presses de la cité□1971□□417.

[3] [illegible]*The French Secret Services□A History of French Intelligence from the Dreyfus Affair to the Gulf War*□New York□Farrar□Straus & Giroux□1995□□319-38□

[4] 1955[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu□20 novembre 1953-7 mai 1954*□Paris□Perrin□2004□□548-68.

[5] “Comité de defense nationale du 24 juillet 1953□Extrait du process verbal no. 821/CND du 18 septembre 1953□” 10 H 179□Service historique de l’armée de terre.□□Joseph Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□Paris□Plon□1957□□20-22□Pierre Charpy□“‘Pourquoi je ne me suis pas suicidé□’ par le général Navarre□responsible de Dien Bien Phu□” *Nouveau Candide*□October 17□1963□Général René Cogny□“Lalibre confession du général Cogny□” *L’Express*□November 21□1963□and *L’Express*□December 6□1963□

[6] Georges Catroux□*Deux actes du drame indochinois*□Paris□Plon□1959□□168-69□Alphonse Juin□*Le Viêt Minh□mon adversaire*□Paris□Plon□1956□□237. [illegible]

□□□□Press and Information Division□French Embassy□Washington□D.C.□*Indochinese Affairs* 1□February 1954□□25-28□

[7] Georges Boudarel and Francois Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre la bataille de Dien Bien Phu□” *Nouvel Observateur*□April 8□1983.□□Chris Goscha□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[8] Henri Navarre□*Agonie de l’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1956□□121.

[9] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□36□□□11□20□□□□□□Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□*Paroles de Dien Bien Phu□Les survivants témoignent*□Paris□Tallandier□2004□□67-74□

[10] Chen Jian□*Mao’s China and the Cold War*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2001□□132□William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□448.

[11] □□□□□□□BMA Saigon to War Office□June 7□1953□FO 371/106748□TNA□□□Taquey to Craig□May 14□1953□Box 12□NSC Staff Papers□PSB Central Files□Eisenhower Library□

[12] Dang Huu Loc□Military History Institute of Vietnam chief editor□□*Lich Su Quan Doi Nhan Dan Viet Nam* □History of the People’s Army of Vietnam□□4th printing□with additions and corrections□Hanoi□People’s Army Publishing House□1994□□387.□□Cao Pha□*Nhung Ky Uc Khong Bao Gio Quen*□Memories I Will NeverForget□□Hanoi□People’s Army Publishing House□2006□□84-86. □□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□Vo Nguyen Giap□*Dien Bien Phu□Rendezvous with History*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□13-26□

[13] Le Kinh Lich□chief editor□□*Tran Danh Ba Muoi Nam□Ky Su Lich Su□Tap 1*□The Thirty Year Battle□A Historical Report□vol. 1□□People’s Army Publishing House□1995□□593.□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□Trinh VuongHong□“Dien Bien Phu□A Historical Inevitability□” in *Dien Bien Phu□History□Impressions□Memoirs*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□49□

[14] *Tran Danh Ba Muoi Nam*□593.

[15] □□Vu QuangHien□*Tim hieu chu truong doi ngoai cua Dang thoi ky 1945-1954*□Hanoi□Nha xuat ban Chinh tri quocgia□2005□□169-701□Pierre Asselin□“The DRVN and the 1954 Geneva Conference□New Evidence and Perspectives from Vietnam□” □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□p.5□

[16] *Tran Danh Ba Muoi Nam*□593.

[17] Bernard B. Fall□“Indochina□The Last of the War□” *Military Review*□December 1956□Pierre Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu*□□Paris□Flammarion□1968□□169-76.

[18] *Lich Su Quan Doi Nhan Dan Viet Nam*□393.

[19] “Dinh Cao Chien Cong Tinh Bao Thoi Chong Phat” □The Peak of Intelligence Success During the Resistance War Against the French□□*Quan Doi Nhan Dan*□People’s Army□□October 21□2005□□□□http□//www.quandoinhandan.org.vn/sknc/□id=1587&subject=8□2009□6□5□□□□□□□□□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[20] Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu*□□206□Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley*□*Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□257.

[21] Jules Roy□*La bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□Paris□René Julliard□1963□□83-86.

[22] Windrow□*Last Valley*□258-59.

[23] George W. Allen□*None So Blind*□*A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam*□Chicago□Ivan R. Dee□2001□□51-52.

[24] Chen Jian□*Mao’s China*□133-34□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[25] *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* □People’s Army□ newspaper supplement□“Su Kienva Nhan Chung” □Events and Witnesses□□Special issue no. 1 commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Dien Bien Phu□June 12□1953.□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□□□□

[26] *Quan Doi Nhan Dan* □People’s Army□ newspaper supplement□“Su Kienva Nhan Chung” □Events and Witnesses□□Special issue no. 1 commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Dien Bien Phu□June 12□1953.□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□□□□Giap□*Rendezvous with History*□47-48.

[27] *Lich Su Quan Doi Nhan Dan Viet Nam*□1□387-95□Christopher E. Goscha□“Building Force□Asian Origins of Vietnamese Military Science□1950-54□□” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34□2003□□556.

[28] Ilya V. Gaiduk□*Confronting Vietnam□Soviet Policy Toward the Indochina Conflict□1954-1963*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□2003□□14□Duiker□*Ho ChiMinh*□449.

[29] □□Chen□*Mao's China*□167-70□

[30] Ho Chi Minh□*Toan Tap I*□no. 6□pp.494-96□□□Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□451.

[31] □□□□□□Pierre Asselin□"The DRVN and the 1954 Geneva Conference□New Evidence and Perspectives from Vietnam□" □□□□□□□□□□□□□

[32] □□Allan W. Cameron□ed.□*Viet-Nam Crisis□A Documentary History*□2vols.□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1971□□1□217-18□□□Vu Quang Hien□*Tim hieu chu truong doi ngoai*□171□

[33] Ho Chi Minh□*Selected Works*□4 vols.□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1961-1962□□3□408-10□Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□116-17□James Cable□*The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*□London□Macmillan□1986□□35.

[34] Ho Chi Minh□"Report to the Assembly of the DRV□" December 1-4□1953□in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution□Selected Writings□1920-1966*□ed. Bernard B. Fall□NewYork□Praeger□1967□□258-69.

[35] General Hoang Van Thai□*Tran Danh Ba Muoi Nam*□730.

[36] Ho Chi Minh□*Selected Works*□3□431.

[37] Edward Rice-Maximin□*Accommodation and Resistance□The French Left□Indochina and the Cold War*□Westport□Conn.□Greenwood□1986□□139.

[38] Cable□*Geneva Conference*□35.

[39] □□□□□□1953□12□1□□

[40] Cable□*Geneva Conference*□36□Jean Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□trans.George Holock□New York□Holmes & Meier□1984□□200.

[41] "Situation enIndochine de 1 au 9 Décembre 1953□" F60 3038□AN. □□□□□□□1953□12□4□□□□□□□□□□□Waite□"End of the First Indochina War□" 73□

[42] C.D. Jackson notes□"Bermuda Commentary□" December 1953□Box 68□C.D. Jackson Papers□Eisenhower Library.

[43] C.D. Jackson notes□"Bermuda Commentary□" December 1953□Box 68□C.D. Jackson Papers□Eisenhower Library.□Sir Evelyn Shuckburgh diary□□□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□37□

[44] Lord Moran□*Winston Churchill□The Struggle for Survival 1940-1965*□London□Constable□1966□□503-12□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□37□David Carlton□*Anthony Eden□A Biography*□New York□HarperCollins□1986□□335-37□John Colville□*The Fringes of Power□Downing Street Diaries□1939-1955*□London□Hodder & Stoughton□1985□□643.

[45] □Memcon□December 4□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Western European Security*□V□1739□

[46] Colville□*Fringes of Power*□683□□□□Kevin Ruane□"Anthony Eden□British Diplomacy□and the Origins of the Geneva Conference of 1954□" *Historical Journal* 37□1994□□155□

[47] Dulles to Acting SecState□December 7□1953□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□901-2□Eden minute to Churchill□December 7□1953□FO 371/105574□TNA.

[48] □□□□□□1953□12□7□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□901n2□

□□□□ “□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

□

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1953□12□□□12□4□□□·□□□Jean Souquet□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□14□26□□□316□176□□□□□□[1]

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2100□□□——□□□□□□□□——□□□□90□□□□□□□□□□□□12□5□11□□□12□22□□□185□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□[2]

□□□Phong Tho□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□12□12□□□316□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[3]

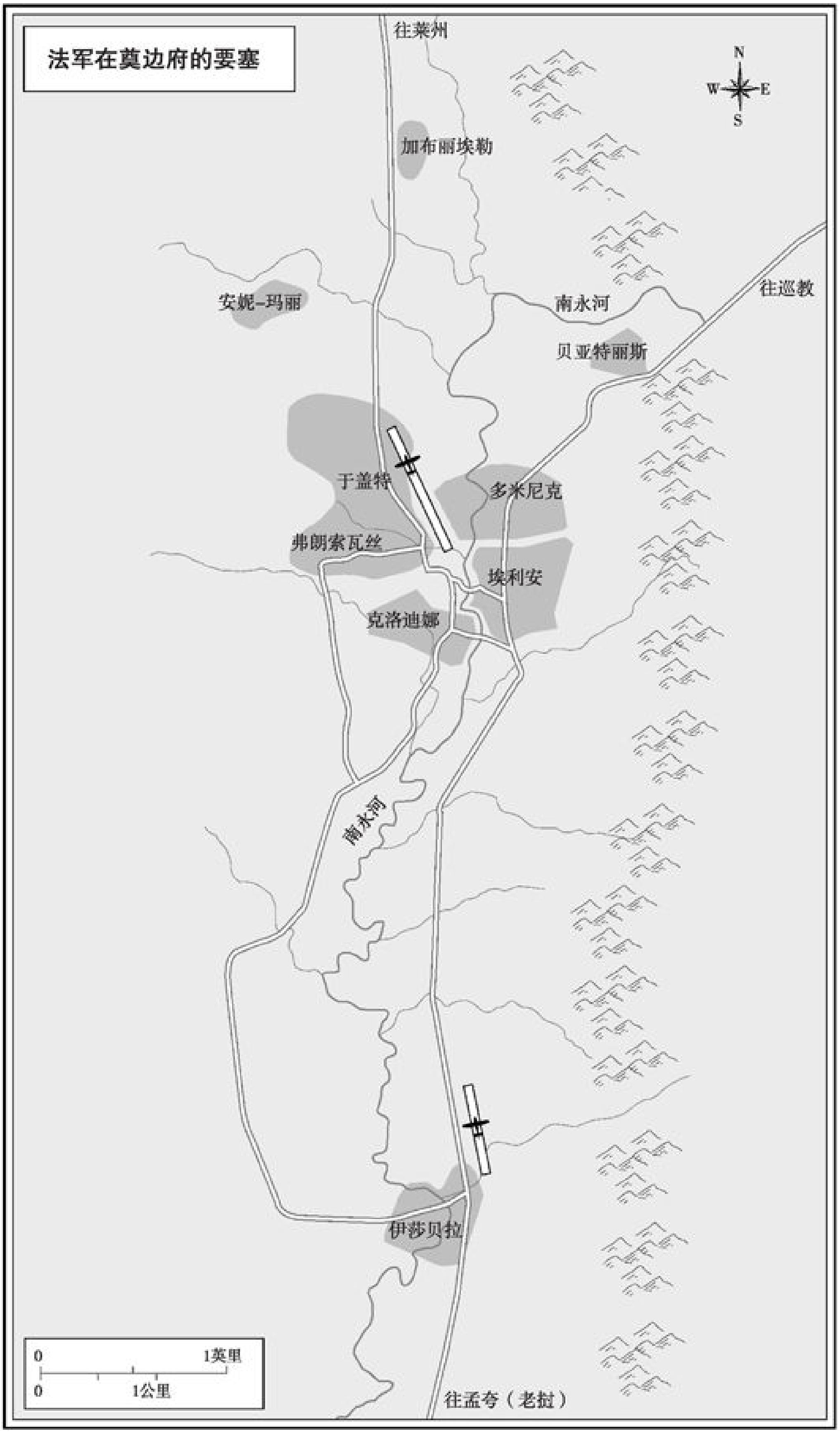
[illegible]316[illegible]32[illegible]48[illegible]10[illegible][4][illegible]9[illegible]316[illegible]Pavie Piste[illegible]

[illegible]Christian Marie Ferdinand de la Croix de Castries[illegible]51[illegible]20[illegible]30[illegible]1941[illegible]1946[illegible]1951[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible][5]

12[illegible]8[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][6]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]A[illegible]I[illegible]Dominique[illegible]Huguette[illegible]Claudine[illegible]Eliane[illegible]Françoise[illegible]2.5[illegible]Gabrielle[illegible]Beátrice[illegible]-[illegible]Anne-Marie[illegible]5[illegible]Isabelle[illegible]


法军在奠边府的要塞
往莱州
N
W
E
S
加布丽埃勒
往巡教
安妮-玛丽
南永河
贝亚特丽斯
于盖特
多米尼克
弗朗索瓦丝
埃利安
克洛迪娜
南永河
伊莎贝拉
0
1英里
0
1公里
往孟夸（老挝）

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Andre Sudrat[illegible]3[illegible]3000[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible][7]

[illegible]

[illegible]10910[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]M-24“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]*Stille Nacht*[illegible]*heilige Nacht*[illegible][9]

1953[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[10]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11][illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Jules Gaucher[illegible]——[illegible]1940[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]308[illegible]316[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Ariane[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Xenophon[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]500[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]5[illegible]308[illegible]·[illegible]312[illegible]Doc Lap[illegible]-[illegible]Bankco[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]5[illegible]Thuan Chau[illegible]13[illegible]1952[illegible][15]

1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Pham Ngoc Mau[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible][16][illegible]

[illegible]14[illegible]Muong Phong[illegible]48[illegible]Le

Liem[illegible][17]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1931[illegible]1948[illegible]1949[illegible][18][illegible]1950[illegible][19]

1[illegible]14[illegible]11[illegible]Pathet Lao[illegible]304[illegible]325[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]14[illegible]13[illegible]Mu Nam Quam[illegible]41[illegible]800[illegible]600[illegible]2.5[illegible][20]

[illegible][21]

[illegible]75[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]2[illegible]”

[illegible]100[illegible]200[illegible]300[illegible]352[illegible][22]

1954□1□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□41□□□□□□□□□□Na Nham□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1100□□□□□□□□□Pu Pha Song mountain□□Ban To□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ban Nghiu□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□75□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□105□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□60□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□312□□□□□□□Tran Do□□□□□□□□□□□□□□105□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□“□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]500[illegible]1000[illegible][23]

[illegible]105[illegible]150[illegible]“[illegible]200[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[24][illegible][25]

[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]20[illegible]25[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

□□□C-47□□□□C-119□□□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1.2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□□□□□□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□13□□3□□□□-□□□□□□3□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□3□□□□3□□□□□□□□1□□□2□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□1□□28□□□□16□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[26]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□27□□4.9□□□□□□□□□□□3.3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10%□1□9□□□□□□□□□□105□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[27]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□28□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□31□□□105□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[28]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□□□·□□□□Charles Piroth□□□

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]93[illegible]95[illegible]49[illegible]——[illegible]54[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1953[illegible]5[illegible][29]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]1954[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6000[illegible]—[illegible]—[illegible]1954[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible][30][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Altante[illegible]1[illegible]20[illegible]Tuy Hoa[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]

[illegible]Nha Trang[illegible]2[illegible][31]

[illegible]

1[illegible]25[illegible]1[illegible]50[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]30[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible][32]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]24[illegible]312[illegible]5[illegible]24[illegible]1[illegible]26[illegible]5[illegible][34]

[illegible]24[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]3[illegible]24[illegible][35]

[illegible]12[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]Thuy[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[36]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][37][illegible][38]

“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]12[illegible][39]

[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]25[illegible]

---

[1] Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□320.

[2] Bernard B. Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place□The Siege of Dien Bien Phu*□Philadelphia□Lippincott□1966□□72. □□Vo Nguyen Giap□*Dien Bien Phu□Rendezvous with History*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□48-51□

[3] Pierre Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□Paris□Flammarion□1968□□225-26.

[4] Jules Roy□*La bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□Paris□René Julliard□1963□□89.

[5] Jules Roy□*La bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□Paris□René Julliard□1963□□81-82□Pierre Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu□20 novembre 1953-7 mai 1954*□Paris□Perrin□2004□□118-20□Fall□Hell in a Very Small Place□54-56□

[6] Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□124-28□Howard R. Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu□The Epic Battle America Forgot*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1994□□25.

[7] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□88-90□Roy□*Bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□98.

[8] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□36-38.

[9] Roy□*Bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□111-13.

[10] Howard R. Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire□An American in Vietnam□1952-1991*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1991□□102.

[11] □□Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□40□

[12] George Ball□“Cutting Our Losses in Vietnam□” June 28□1965□*FRUS□1964-1968*□III□222.

[13] Saigon to FO□December 31□1953□FO 371/106779□TNA.

[14] *Lich su Dang Cong san Viet Nam* □A History of the Vietnamese Communist Party□□Hanoi□Su that□1984□□691□□□William J. Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□453□

[15] Georges Boudarel and Francois Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre la bataille de Diên Biên Phu□” *Nouvel Observateur*□April 8□1983□97□Giap□*Rendezvous with History*□86-92.

[16] Vo Nguyen Giap□with Huu Mai□*Dien Bien Phu□Diem Hen Lich Su* □Dien Bien Phu□A Historic Meeting Place□□Hanoi□People’s Army Publishing House□2001□□93-94□□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□Christopher J. Goscha□“Building Force□Asian Origins of Vietnamese Military Science□1950-54□□” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 34□2003□□556□

[17] Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 97.

[18] □□□□1955□□□□□□□□□□□□

[19] Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 97□Qiang Zhai□*China and the Vietnam Wars□1950-1975*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2000□□38□45-46□

[20] Windrow□*Last Valley*□266.

[21] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□34.

[22] Vo Nguyen Giap□*Dien Bien Phu□Diem Hen*□183. □□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□Dinh Van Ty□“The Brigade of Iron Horses□” *Vietnamese Studies* 43□1976□□

[23] Tran Do□*Stories of Dien Bien Phu*□Hanoi□1963□□30-37.

[24] Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 99.

[25] Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 99.

[26] Roy□*Bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□134-35. □□Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□*Paroles de Dien Bien Phu□Les survivants témoignent*□Paris□Tallandier□2004□□104-5□

[27] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□104.

[28] Saigon to SecState□January 3□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□937-38□Navarre to Monsieur le Secrétaire d’Etat à la Présidence du Conseil□chargé des relations avec les Etats Associés□January 1□1954□Dossier IV□DPMP□Indochine□Institut Pierre Mendès France□hereafter IPMF□□Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu*□□243.

[29] Bernard B. Fall□“Post-Mortems on Dien Bien Phu□Review Article□” *Far Eastern Survey* 27□no. 10□October 1958□.

[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hanoi□Fish□to FO□February 8□1954□FO 371/112024□TNA□

[31] □□“□□□□□□”□□□Phillip B. Davidson□*Vietnam at War□The History□1946-1975*□New York□Oxford University Press□1991□□204-13□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□45-49□Michel Grintchenko□*Atlante-Aréthuse□Une opération de pacification en Indochine*□Paris□Economica□2001□□

[32] Ted Morgan□*Valley of Death□The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu That Led America into the Vietnam War*□New York□Random House□2010□□241.

[33] Roy□*Bataille de Diên Biên Phu*□151-54□Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 90.

[34] Vo Nguyen Giap□*The Most Difficult Decision□Dien Bien Phu□And Other Writings*□Hanoi□Giao□1992□□21□Goscha□“Building Force□” 557□Hoang Minh Phuong□“Ve mot cuon sach xuat ban o Trung Quoc viet ve Dien Bien Phu□” *Xu’a va Nay* 3□1994□□14.

[35] □□□□□Goscha□“Building Force□” 557□□□Bui Tin□*Following Ho Chi Minh□The Memoirs of a North Vietnamese Colonel*□Honolulu□University of Hawaii Press□1995□□20-21□Giap□*Dien Bien Phu□Diem Hen*□103□

[36] Giap□*Rendezvous with History*□107-8.

[37] Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□198-207□Giap□*Rendezvous with History*□108□Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 90□Ngo Dang Tri□“Le service logistique du Vietnam dans la bataille de Dien Bien Phu□” in Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□eds.□*1954-2004□La bataille de Dien Bien Phu□entre histoire et mémoire*□Paris□Société française d’histoire d’outre-mer□2004□□121.

[38] Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□198-207□Giap□*Rendezvous with History*□108□Boudarel and Caviglioli□“Comment Giap a faille perdre□” 90□Ngo Dang Tri□“Le service logistique du Vietnam dans la bataille de Dien Bien Phu□” in Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□eds.□*1954-2004□La bataille de Dien Bien Phu□entre histoire et mémoire*□Paris□Société française d’histoire d’outre-mer□2004□□121.

[39] Giap□“Most Difficult Decision□” 23-27□Bui Tin□*Following Ho Chi Minh*□20.38 Vo Nguyen Giap□*People’s War□People’s Army□The Viet Cong Insurrection Manual for Underdeveloped Countries*□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1961□□170.

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]1953[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][1]

[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible][2][illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]16[illegible]“NSC-177”[illegible]NSC-5405[illegible]

[illegible]
“[illegible]-[illegible]”[3]

[illegible]1[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]George Humphrey[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]B-26[illegible]——[illegible][4]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Bedell Smith[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

1954[illegible]1[illegible]200[illegible]B-26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Civilian Air Transport[illegible]CAT[illegible]C-119[illegible]24[illegible]CAT[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]2.5[illegible][6]

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]James Hagerty[illegible]“[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]1953[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

[illegible]·[illegible]Selwyn Lloyd[illegible]“[illegible]”[9]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Scott McLeod[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][10]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11][illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]·[illegible]W.[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1897[illegible]Country Durham[illegible]1916[illegible]1935[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]1938[illegible]·[illegible]1951[illegible]1953[illegible]4[illegible]

1953[illegible]12[illegible]1954[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1953[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible][17][illegible]1954[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18][illegible]·[illegible]18[illegible][19][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]7%[illegible][20]

[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”1[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]……[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]（Vyacheslav Molotov）[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]23[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][24]

1954[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·H.[illegible]Hubert H.Humphrey[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[28][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][29][illegible][30][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible]

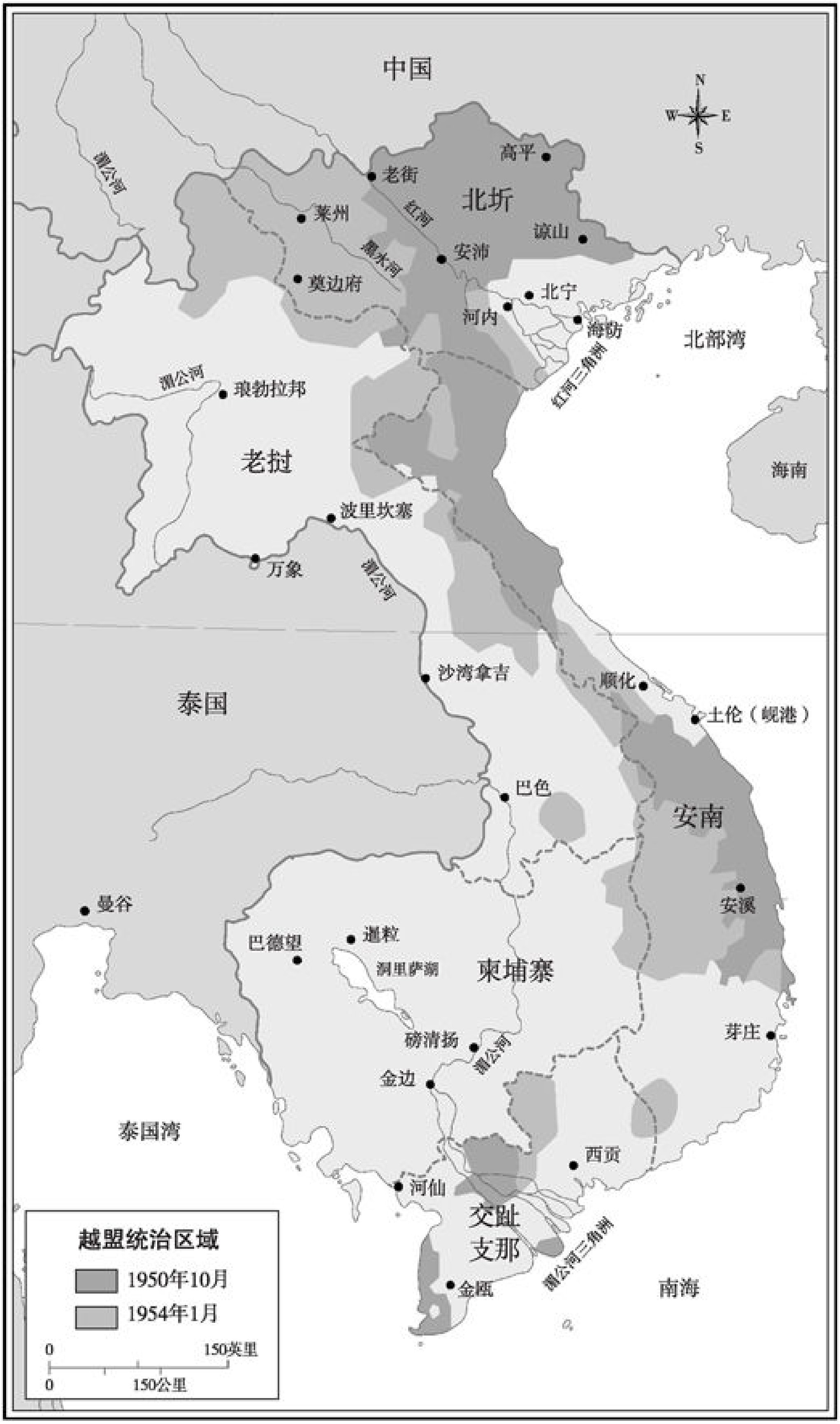
[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32][illegible]2[illegible]18[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Ely[illegible][33]

[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]24[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible][34]



中国
N
W
E
S
高平
老街
北圻
湄公河
莱州
红河
黑水河
安沛
谅山
莫边府
北宁
河内
海防
北部湾
红河三角洲
湄公河
琅勃拉邦
老挝
海南
波里坎塞
万象
湄公河
沙湾拿吉
顺化
土伦（岘港）
泰国
巴色
安南
安溪
曼谷
巴德望
暹粒
洞里萨湖
柬埔寨
芽庄
磅清扬
湄公河
金边
泰国湾
西贡
河仙
交趾
支那
湄公河三角洲
金瓯
南海
越盟统治区域
1950年10月
1954年1月
0
150英里
0
150公里

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]

[illegible]——[illegible][36][illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible][37][illegible]1947[illegible]Markos[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Lacouture[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38][illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible][39][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Jules Gaucher[illegible]13[illegible]2[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[40]

[illegible]——[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible]C-47[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[41][illegible]2[illegible]21[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42]

[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Guillain[illegible]“[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]·[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][44]

[illegible][45][illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[46]

[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47]

[illegible]

[illegible]

3[illegible]13[illegible]105[illegible]75[illegible]120[illegible][48]

[illegible]——[illegible]13[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]312[illegible]200[illegible]6[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Pégot[illegible]6[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[49][illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]11[illegible]750[illegible]550[illegible]600[illegible]1200[illegible]

[illegible]312[illegible]-[illegible]14[illegible]13[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]75[illegible]105[illegible]

□□
□□□2□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[50]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□3□12□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□
[51]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Do Son□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
5□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□2□20□□□□□□□□□□1□□□□□□□□□200□□
□□
□□□□□□3□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gia Lam□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□4
□B-26□□□□6□□□□□□□3□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□12□□□□□
□□
□□[52]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□
□□
□□
□□□308□□□312□□□□316□□□□□□304□□□□□□□□351□□□□□
308□□□□□□□□□312□□□□□□□□□□□□□316□□□□□□□□□□□□□304□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[53]

□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]200[illegible]”[54]

[illegible]3[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[55]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]6000[illegible]105[illegible]

[illegible]47[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Pierre Langlais[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[56]

[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]3[illegible]15[illegible]14[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□540□□□□220□□□□114□□□□□□□□□1000□□1916□□[57]□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[58]□□□□□□□□1□26□□□□·□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”3□15□□·□□□[59]

3[illegible]16[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]Grauwin[illegible]Gindrey[illegible]3[illegible]13[illegible]14[illegible]——[illegible]14[illegible]——[illegible][60]

3[illegible]15[illegible]——[illegible]17[illegible]-[illegible]2500[illegible]

[illegible]Ton That Tung[illegible]6[illegible]5[illegible]12[illegible]1[illegible]3[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]”[61]

[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]17[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][62][illegible]B-26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]C-47[illegible]C-119[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][63]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□[64]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

---

[1] Ho Chi Minh□“Report to the Assembly of the DRV□” December 1-4□1953□ in *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution□Selected Writings□1920-1966*□ed. Bernard B. Fall □NewYork□Praeger□1967□□258-69.

[2] Pierre Asselin□“The DRVN and the 1954 Geneva Conference□New Evidence and Perspectives from Vietnam□” □□□□□□□□□□□□Truong Chinh□ “Making Great Efforts to Smash the French and U.S. Imperialists’ Schemes for Intensifying the War of Aggression□” February 22□1954□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[3] NSC 5405□January 16□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□971-76.

[4] □□□□□□□□□□□□□179□□□1954□1□8□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□ 1□947-54□

[5] Richard Immerman□“Between the Unattainable and the Unacceptable□ Eisenhower and Dienbienphu□” in Richard A. Melanson and David Mayers□eds.□ *Reevaluating Eisenhower□American Foreign Policy in the 1950s*□Urbana□ University of Illinois Press□1987□□124-25. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□ □Robert Kyes□□□□□□□□C.D.□□□□C. D. Jackson□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□

[6] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Robert K. Scudder□“Tonkin Taxi□Hanoi to Saigon and All the Stops in Between□” *Friends Journal* 29□Winter 2006-7□□8-14□

[7] □□□·□□□□□□1954□2□7□□Eisenhower Library□

[8] Eden to Cabinet□November 24□1953□CAB 129 64□TNA□Eden to Churchill□November 25□1953□FO 800/784/95□TNA.

[9] Lloyd note□August 23□1953□FO 371/103518□TNA.

[10] E. J. Kahn□Jr.□*The China Hands□America’s Foreign Service Officers and What Befell Them*□New York□Viking□1975□□and Robert P.Newman□*Owen*

Lattimore and the “Loss” of China□Berkeley□University of California Press□1992□.

[11] Paul Wright memorandum□August 22□1953□FO 371/103518□TNA.

[12] Lloyd note□August 23□1953□FO 371/103518□TNA.

[13] Paul Wright memorandum□August 22□1953□FO 371/103518□TNA.

[14] Robert Rhodes James□*Anthony Eden□A Biography*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1987□□158. □□Dominic Sandbrook□*Never Had It So Good□A History of Britain from Suez to the Beatles*□vol. 1□*1956-1963*□Boston□Little□Brown□2005□□7-8□

[15] Eden to Cabinet□November 24□1953□CAB 129 64□TNA. See here the fine analysis in Kevin Ruane□“Anthony Eden□British Diplomacy□and the Origins of the Geneva Conference of 1954□” *Historical Journal* 37□no. 1□1994□□156-57.

[16] Rhodes James□*Eden*□374-75.

[17] Anthony Eden□*Full Circle□The Memoirs of Anthony Eden*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1960□□87.

[18] □□Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture□*End of a War□Indochina□1954*□New York□Praeger□1969□□55□□□Pierre Grosser□“La France et l’Indochine□1953-1956□□Une ‘carte de visite’ en ‘peau de chagrin’” □France and Indochina□1953-1956□□A Visitor’s Pass to the Land of Sorrow□□doctoral dissertation□Institut d’études politiques de Paris□September 2002□483-500□

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Le Général des Corps d’Armée Valluy à Monsieurle Général d’Armée Chef d’Etat-major Général des Forces Armées□February 4□1954□Dossier 295□Indochine□Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□MAE□

[20] André Siegfried□*L’Année Politique 1954*□Paris□Presses universitaires de France□1955□□511-16.

[21] C. L. Sulzberger□*A Long Row of Candles□Memoirs and Diaries□1934-1954*□New York□Macmillan□1969□□949.

[22] Churchill to Eden□February 8□1954□PREM 11/648. □□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

[23] David Dutton□*Anthony Eden□A Life and Reputation*□London□Hodder Arnold□1997□□474.

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□415□

[25] □□David Carlton□*Anthony Eden□A Biography*□New York□HarperCollins□1986□□339*□* □□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Livingston Merchant□□

[26] Dulles to Eisenhower□February 6□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1021.

[27] □□□□□□□186□□□□□□□□□□□1953□2□26□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1080-81□Lawrence S. Kaplan□“NATO and French Indochina□” in Lawrence S. Kaplan□Denise Artaud□and Mark Rubin□eds.□*Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations□1954-1955*□Wilmington□Del.□Scholarly Resources□1990□□239□

[28] W. D. Allen note□February 24□1954□FO 371/112047□TNA.

[29] Georges Bidault□*D’une résistance à l’autre*□Paris□Les Presses du siècle□1965□□193□James Cable□*The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*□London□Macmillan□1986□□43.

[30] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2□11□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”Evelyn Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez□Diaries□1951-1956*□New York□W.W. Norton□1987□□133.

[31] William C. Gibbons□*The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War□Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1986□□1□165-66□“Report on Berlin□” February 24□1954□□□Robert F.Randle□*Geneva 1954□The Settlement of the Indo-Chinese War*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1969□□40-41□

[32] Dulles to State□February 18□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1057.

[33] Pierre Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu□20 novembre 1953-7 mai 1954*□Paris□Perrin□2004□□231-32□James R. Arnold□*The First Domino□Eisenhower□the Military□and America’s Intervention in Vietnam*□New York□William Morrow□1991□□146-47.

[34] Conversation tenue□Comité de defense nationale□March 11□1954□vol. 297□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□Sous-série Indochine□MAE□Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□243-45□Joseph Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□Paris□Plon□1957□□16-17□Pierre Grosser□“La France et l’Indochine□” 624-37.

[35] Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□62-66□Yves Gras□*Histoire de la guerre d’Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1979□□541-42□Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□79-80.

[36] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Général C. Blanc□“Situation d’ensemble□” February 8□1954□Dossier IV□DPMF Indochine□Institut Pierre Mendès France□Paris□

[37] Laniel□*Le drameindochinois*□82.

[38] Jean Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□trans. George Holock□New York□Holmes & Meier□1984□□201.

[39] Text in India□*Parliamentary Debates□Official Report□House of the People*□Part 2□6th Session□vol. 1□no. 6□February 22□1954□□cols. 415-16.

[40] Pierre Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□Paris□Flammarion□1968□□327□□□Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□363□

[41] General O’Daniel□“Report on the U.S. Special Mission to Indochina□” February 5□1954□Box 1□George Kahin Collection on the Origins of the Vietnam War□Carl A. Kroch Rare and Manuscript Collections□Cornell University.

[42] Saigon to State□February 9□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1026□1065-66□Time□March 1□1954.

[43] □□Jules Roy□*The Battle of Dienbienphu*□trans. Robert Baldick□New York□Harper & Row□1965□reprint Carroll & Graf□1984□□144□□□Robert Guillain□*Diên-Biên-Phu□La fin des illusions □Notes d’Indochine□février-juillet 1954□*□Paris□Arléa□2004□□

[44] □□□□·□□□□□1954□1□5□□Box 1□Greene Papers□GU□Graham Greene□*Ways of Escape*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1980□□189□□□□□□3□21□□3□28□□□□□□□

[45] □□□□□1954□□□□□□□□□□□□□David W. P.Elliott□*The Vietnamese War□ Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975*□Armonk□N.Y.□ M.E. Sharpe□2007□□80-82□

[46] Bernard B. Fall□“Solution in Indo-China□Cease-Fire□Negotiate□” *Nation*□ March 6□1954. 2□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□——□□Saigon to FO□ February 25□1954□FO 371/112024□TNA□

[47] Fall□“Solution in Indo-China.”

[48] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□343-90□□□Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□*Paroles de Dien Bien Phu□Les survivants témoignent*□Paris□Tallandier□2004□□111-31□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Erwan Bergot□ *Les 170 jours de Diên Biên Phû□*□Paris□Presses de la cité□1979□□85-98□

[49] □□□□□□Ted Morgan□*Valley of Death□The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu That Led America into the Vietnam War*□New York□Random House□2010□□256□

[50] Howard R. Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu□The Epic Battle America Forgot* □Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1994□□53-54.

[51] Howard R. Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu□The Epic Battle America Forgot* □Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1994□□63□

[52] *Lich Su Bo Doi Dac Cong□Tap Mot* □History of the Sapper Forces□Volume I□□Hanoi□People’s Army Publishing House□1987□□68-70□Hanoi to FO□February 17□1954□FO 371/112024□TNA.□□John Prados□“Mechanics at the Edge of War□” *VVA Veteran* 22□no. 8□August 2002□□Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□64-65□

[53] Edgar O’Ballance□*The Indo-China War□1945-1954*□London□Faber & Faber□1964□□218.

[54] □□Roy□*Battle of Dienbienphu*□167□

[55] Phillip B. Davidson□*Vietnam at War□The History□1946-1975*□New York□ Oxford University Press□1991□□236.

[56] Roy□Battle of Dienbienphu□172.

[57] Bernard B. Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War 1946-1954*□reprint ed.□Mechanicsburg□Pa.□Stackpole□1994□□321.

[58] Bernard B. Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place□The Siege of Dien Bien Phu*□Philadelphia□Lippincott□1966□□156.

[59] Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□268-72.

[60] Paul Grauwin□*J’étais médecin à Dien-Bien-Phu*□Paris□France-Empire□1954□.□□□□□□□□□□□□*Doctor at Dienbienphu*□New York□John Day□1955□□

[61] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□89.

[62] Navarre pour Ministre Etats Associés□March 23□1954□Dossier I 457 AP 53□Conférence de Genève□AN.

[63] Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□72.

[64] Comité de défense nationale to Schumann□March 11□1954□vol.297□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□Sous-série Indochine□MAE.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

1954[illegible]3[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]14[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]Allen Dulles[illegible][1]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]1955[illegible]1956[illegible][2]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]25[illegible]B-26[illegible]800[illegible]3[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[3]

1954[illegible]3[illegible]22[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1950[illegible][4]

[illegible]3[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]3[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Vulture[illegible]B-29[illegible]350[illegible][6]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7][illegible]

“NSC-5405”[illegible]1[illegible][8]

[illegible]3[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]Charles Wilson[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][9]

[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]25[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Percy Spender[illegible][10]

3[illegible]3[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11][illegible]·[illegible]Richard Rovere[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]48[illegible]47[illegible]1[illegible]221[illegible]213[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1953[illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]United Action Speech[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Joseph Martin[illegible]“[illegible]48[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible][14]

[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

> [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][15]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]21[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16][illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]John Stennis[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Watkins[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18]

[illegible]3[illegible]31[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Matthew Ridgway[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][19]

[illegible]——[illegible][20]

[illegible]3[illegible]31[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[22]

[illegible]4[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible][23]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]9[illegible]30[illegible]14[illegible]·M. [illegible]Chalmers M. Roberts[illegible]·[illegible]11[illegible]*The Reporter*[illegible]FBI[illegible][25]

[illegible]The Day We Didn’t Go to War[illegible]·[illegible]Richard Russell[illegible]·[illegible]Earle Clements[illegible]·[illegible]Eugene Millikan[illegible]·[illegible]·W.[illegible]John W. McCormack[illegible]J.[illegible]·[illegible]J. Percy Priest[illegible]·[illegible]Roger Kyes[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·B.[illegible]Robert B. Anderson[illegible]·B.[illegible]Thruston B. Morton[illegible][26]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]90%[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——10[illegible]

□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□”□[27]

□□“□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[28]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□3□29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[29]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Leslie Munro□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□·□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]1931[illegible]1932[illegible]·L.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible][31]

[illegible]8[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Sherman Adams[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]3[illegible][32]

[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]1954[illegible][33][illegible]

[illegible][34]

[illegible][35][illegible]3[illegible]20[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]

4[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible]15[illegible]4[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]Raymond Brohon[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]29[illegible][36]

[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]26[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[37][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible][38]

[illegible]·[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]2[illegible][39]

[illegible]9[illegible]43[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[41]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□
□”□□□□□□□□·□□Kevin Ruane□□□□□□□□“□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□[42]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□11□54□□□□□□□□□□4□
5□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□

“□□□□

□□□□4□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[43]

□

4□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□
□”□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□
□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
[44]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[45]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□6□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□10□20□□□□□□B-29□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□B-29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□“B□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□B-29□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[46]

□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
4□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“B□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□B-29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□B-26□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□“□□□”□□□□Corsairs□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[47]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□□□
□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□“□□□□”□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□·□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□4□3□□□□□□
□□□
□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□

□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□15□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·F.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□
□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□

[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[48]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[49]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]——[illegible]1947[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]160[illegible][50]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51]

[illegible]4□10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52][illegible]

[illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]189[illegible]1954□3□18[illegible]*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1132-33□

[2] [illegible]1954□3□19[illegible]*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1133-34□Comité de defense nationale to Schumann□March 11□1954□vol. 297□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□Sous-série Indochine□MAE.

[3] Télégram a l’arrivée□March 24□1954□vol. 297□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□Sous-série Indochine□MAE□Memo for the record□March 21□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1137-40□*NYT*□March 23□1954□Paul Ely□*Mémoires□L’Indochine dans la tourmente*□Paris□Plon□1964[illegible]59-60.

[4] Conversation tenue□March 23□1954□vol. 297□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□Sous-série Indochine□MAE□Ely□*Mémoires*□65-67.

[5] [illegible]1954□3□24[illegible]FRUS□1952-1954□*Indochina*□XIII□1□1150□Dulles-Radford telcon□March 25□1954□Box 2□Telephone Calls Series□John Foster Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library□

[6] Ely□*Mémoires*□67-83□Bonnet to Paris□March 24 and 25□1954□vol. 297□Série Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□Sous-série Indochine□MAE□Arthur Radford□*From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam□The Memoirs of Admiral Arthur W. Radford*□ed. Stephen Jurika□Stanford□Calif.□Hoover Institution Press□1980□□391-401□Joseph Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□Paris□Plon□1957□□83-88□Kathryn C. Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□89□George C. Herring and Richard H. Immerman□“Eisenhower□Dulles□and Dienbienphu□‘The Day We Didn’t Go to War’ Revisited□” *Journal of American History* 71□September 1984□□347-48.

[7] Richard H. Immerman□“Between the Unattainable and the Unacceptable□Eisenhower and Dienbienphu□” in Richard A. Melanson and David Mayers□eds.□*Reevaluating Eisenhower□American Foreign Policy in the 1950s*□Urbana□University of Illinois Press□1987□□131.

[8] □□□□□□□John Prados□*Operation Vulture*□New York□ibooks□2002□□

[9] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□190□□□□1954□3□25□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1163-68□

[10] Reported in Washington to FO□April 1□1954□FO 371/112050□TNA.

[11] □□□□□□1954□3□28□□

[12] □□□□□□1954□3□28□□□□□·□□□“Letter from Washington□”□□□□□1954□4□17□□pp.71-72□

[13] □□Richard Nixon□*RN□The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*□New York□Grosset& Dunlap□1978□□151□

[14] Prados□*Operation Vulture*□112.

[15] □□□□□□□1954□4□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[16] Robert Bowie□□□Immerman□“Between the Unattainable and the Unacceptable□” 132□

[17] □□□□□□□1954□3□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□9□□□□□□□1954□4□12□□□□□□□□1954□3□30□□

[18] Melanie Billings-Yun□ *Decision Against War□Eisenhower and Dienbienphu□1954*□New York□Columbia University Press□1988□□66□Robert

Mann□*A Grand Delusion□America’s Descent into Vietnam*□New York□Basic□ 2001□□142.

[19] Ronald H. Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S. Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□202. □□Robert Buzzanco□*Masters of War□Military Dissent and Politics in the Vietnam Era*□New York□Cambridge University Press□1997□□42□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□6□□Folder 17□Box 37□Ridgway Papers□U.S. Army Heritage and Education Center□Carlisle□Pa□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Arthur Bergeron□□□□□□□□□

[20] George W. Allen□*None So Blind□A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam*□Chicago□Ivan R. Dee□2001□□65.

[21] □□Mann□*Grand Delusion*□143.

[22] James C. Hagerty diary entry for April 1□1954□Eisenhower Library.

[23] □□□□□1964□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□1964□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□1954□□□□□□□□□□□1955□6□30□□□□1964□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[24] □□□□□□□□□1954□4□2□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1210-11□□□□□□pp. 1211-12□□□ Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II Through Dienbienphu*□NewYork□W.W. Norton□1989□□205□

[25] □□□□□□FBI□□□□□□□□□1954□6□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Did U.S.Almost Get Into War□□Dulles-McCardle telcon□July 23□1954□Dulles Telcons 3□Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library□

[26] □□□·M.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□The Day We Didn’t Go to War□□□□□□□□□11□□1954□9□14□□□31-35□□“□□□□”□□Dulles memorandum for the file□April 5□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1224-25□□□Chalmers M. Roberts□*First Rough Draft□A Journalist’s Journal of Our Times*□New York□Praeger□1973□□114-15□William C. Gibbons□*The U.S. Government and the Vietnam War□Executive and Legislative Roles and Relationships□Part I□1945-1960*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1986□□191-95□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□6□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[27] Dulles memcon with congressional leaders□April 5□1954□Chronological Series□April 1954□Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library□Billings-Yun□*Decision Against War*□91-92.

[28] Dulles-Eisenhower telcon□April 3□1954□Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library.

[29] Memo of conversation□April 3□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1225-29.

[30] High Commissioner in Auckland to Colonial Office□April 7□1954□FO 371/112051□TNA□Munro to Auckland□April 6□1954□FO 371/112052□TNA□Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□207-8. □□□□□□□□□□□□□Winston Churchill□*The Gathering Storm*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1948□□78-79□

[31] James Waite□"Contesting the Right Decision□New Zealand□the Commonwealth□and the New Look□" *Diplomatic History* 30□November 2006□□908□Washington to FO□April 5□1954 FO 371/112050□TNA.

[32] Editorial note□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1236□Sherman Adams□*Firsthand Report□The Story of the Eisenhower Administration*□New York□Harper & Bros.□1961□□122.

[33] □□□□Billings-Yun□ *Decision Against War□□□□*Gareth Porter□*Perils of Dominance□Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□70-71□□William J. Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□190-91□

[34] □□□□Prados□*Operation Vulture*□Gibbons□*U.S. Government*□178□

[35] Duiker□*U.S. Containment*□161□□□□□□□□□

[36] Ely□*Mémoires*□76-78□83-85□Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture□*End of a War□Indochina□1954*□New York□Praeger□1969□□75-76□Paris to FO□April 10□1954□FO 371/112104□TNA.

[37] Jean Pouget□*Nous e'tions à Dien-Bien-Phu*□Paris□Presses de la cité□1964□□280□Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□83-86□Henri Navarre□*Agonie de l'Indochine*□Paris□Plon□1956□□242-43.

[38] Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□76-77. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Paris to FO□April 10□1954□FO 371/112104□TNA□

[39] Paris to State□April 5□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1236-38□Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□77□Laniel□*Le drame indochinois*□83-86.

[40] James R. Arnold□*The First Domino□Eisenhower□the Military□and America’s Intervention in Vietnam*□New York□William Morrow□1991□□169.

[41] State to London□April 4□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1238-40.

[42] □□·□□□□□□□□□□□□2010□11□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□James Waite□“Contesting the Right Decision□New Zealand□the Commonwealth□and the New Look□” *Diplomatic History* 30□November 2006□□908□Washington to FO□April 5□1954 FO 371/112050□TNA.

[43] White House to Dulles□April 5□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1238n2.

[44] Eisenhower-Dulles telcon□April 5□1954□DDE Phone Calls□Eisenhower Library□Dulles to Dillon□April 4□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1242.

[45] Paris to State□April 5□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1242-43.

[46] Paris to State□April 5□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□1□1248-49□

[47] □□□

[48] Mann□*Grand Delusion*□153.

[49] Immerman□“Between the Unattainable and the Unacceptable□” 137.

[50] □□□□□□□□1954□4□7□□*Public Papers of Eisenhower*□2□382-84□George C. Herring and Richard H. Immerman□“Eisenhower□Dulles□and Dienbienphu□” 355□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□8□□□□□□□

[51] Dulles-Wiley telcon□April 7□1954□Box 2□Telephone Calls Series□John Foster Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library.

[52] Immerman□“Between the Unattainable and the Unacceptable□” 138.

[illegible] [illegible]VS[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]300[illegible]“[illegible]”
[1]

[illegible]4[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Roger Makins[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Bravo[illegible]Lucky Dragon[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]23[illegible]1[illegible]1953[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][2][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]1500[illegible]“[illegible]”[3]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][4]

[illegible]4[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]

[illegible]Joint Intelligence Board[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]

4[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8][illegible][9]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][10]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]4[illegible]12[illegible]1931[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12]

[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Robertson[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]4[illegible]13[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]*London Daily Worker*[illegible]1066[illegible][14][illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[15]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][17]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]15[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]17[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[20]

[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Denis Allen[illegible][21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22][illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible][23]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]James Cable[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]17[illegible]“[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Arthur Krock[illegible][27][illegible]3[illegible]29[illegible][28][illegible]3[illegible]29[illegible][29]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]“30[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible][32][illegible]

□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□68%□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□[33]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□
□□
□□
□□
□□
□□
□□
4□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□[34]

□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□22□□□□□
□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□C.L.□□□□C. L.
Sulzberger□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“‘□□□□’□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2750□□□□‘□□□□□□□□□□□’”□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□
□□”□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□”[35]

· ·

4 22 " " 4 21 " " 4 18 —— [36]

4 22 · —— —— 200 300 [37]

" "

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible][39][illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41]

1954[illegible]4[illegible]23[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible][43][illegible]4[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]29[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][44]

[illegible]4[illegible]23[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45][illegible]

□□1954□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

4□23□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3000□□——□□□B-29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□

□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[46]

□□□·□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[47]

□

4□24□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□“□□□□□

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible][49][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50]

[illegible]1954[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible][51][illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][52]

[illegible]4[illegible]30[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53]

[illegible]4[illegible]14[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][54]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[55]

[illegible]10[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible][56]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][57]

[illegible]4[illegible]26[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1919[illegible]Pilsudski[illegible]Weygand[illegible]d’Abernon[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][58]

[illegible]1947[illegible]1948[illegible][59]

[illegible][60]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][61][illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Swede Hazlett[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[62]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

□□1954□4□□[63]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□22□□□□19□□□□3□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”——□□□“□”□

□□□“□□□□□”□[64]□□

---

[1] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[2] Martin Gilbert□*Never Despair□Winston S. Churchill□1945-1965*□Boston□HoughtonMifflin□1988□□959-60.

[3] □□□·□□□□□□□1954□3□26□□Evelyn Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez□Diaries□1951-1956*□New York□W.W. Norton□1987□□155-56□

[4] Lloyd C. Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam□From World War II Through Dienbienphu*□New York□W.W. Norton□1989□□188-91□215□Roy Jenkins□*Churchill□A Biography*□New York□Farrar□Straus & Giroux□2001□□876. □□□□□□□Jenkins□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

[5] Geoffrey Warner□“Britain and the Crisis over Dien Bien Phu□April 1954□The Failure of United Action□” in Lawrence S. Kaplan□Denise Artaud□and Mark Rubin□eds.□*Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations□1954-*

1955□Wilmington□Del.□Scholarly Resources□1990□□65-66□Anthony Eden□*Full Circle*□*The Memoirs of Anthony Eden*□Boston□Houghton Miffl in□1960□□104-5.

[6] Strong memo□April 12□1954□PREM 11/645□TNA□Confidential Annex to COS42nd meeting□Item 2□April 10□1954□FO 371/112053□TNA□Warner□“Britain and the Crisis over Dien Bien Phu□” 66-67. □□□□□R.G.□□□R. G. Casey□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□12□□□□□34-M1153□National Archives of Australia□hereafter NAA□□

[7] □□□□□□1954□4□8□□□□James Cable□*The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*□London□Macmillan□1986□□55□

[8] Cable□*Geneva Conference*□56.

[9] Record of conversation□April 11□1954□FO 371/112054□Memcon□April 11□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1307-9. □□Eden□*Full Circle*□107-8□

[10] Record of conversation□April 11□1954□FO 371/112054□Memcon□April 11□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1307-9. □□Eden□*Full Circle*□107-8□

[11] Walton Butterworth□Oral History Interview□Dulles Papers□Mudd Library□Princeton University□□□ Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□221-22□

[12] □□□□□1954□4□12□□FO 371/112054□TNA□Memcon□April 12□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1319-20□

[13] □□□□□□1954□4□12□□*Descent to Suez*□164□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Robert E. Herzstein□*Henry R. Luce□Time□and the American Crusadein Asia*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2005□□173□

[14] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[15] Memcon□April 13□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1321-23□□□□□□□□1954□4□13□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□164□

[16] Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□221□Eden minute□March 26□1954□FO371/112048□TNA. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□W. D. Allen to I. Kirkpatrick□March 23□1954□FO 371/112048□TNA□

[17] Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture□*End of a War□Indochina□1954*□New York□Praeger□1969□□87-88. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Ministèredes Affaires étrangère□“Note□” April 7□1954□Dossier 2 457 AP 52□Archives Nationale□

[18] FO to Washington□April 15□1954□FO 371/112053□TNA□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□58.

[19] FOto Washington□April 17□1954□and April 18□1954□FO 371/112053□TNA□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□58-59□Eden□*Full Circle*□99.

[20] FO to Washington□April 19□1954□FO 371/112053□TNA.

[21] [illegible]□Warner□"Britain and the Crisis over Dien Bien Phu□" 69-70□David Dutton□*Anthony Eden□A Life and Reputation*□London□Hodder Arnold□1997□□343□

[22] Townsend Hoopes□*The Devil and John Foster Dulles*□Boston□Little□Brown□1973□□216. □□Douglas Dillon oral history□Dulles Oral History Project□Princeton University□

[23] [illegible]

[24] [illegible]□1954□4□15□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□166□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□60□

[25] Cable□*Geneva Conference*□59.

[26] [illegible]□1954□4□30[illegible]□1954□4□17□□

[27] [illegible]□1954□4□20[illegible]□1954□4□19[illegible]□1954□4□20□□

[28] Richard Nixon□*RN□The Memoirs of Richard Nixon*□New York□Grosset& Dunlap□1978□□151-52□Nixon interview□Dulles Oral History Project□Princeton University□Arthur Radford□*From Pearl Harbor to Vietnam□The Memoirs of Admiral Arthur W. Radford*□ed. Stephen Jurika□Stanford□Calif.□Hoover Institution Press□1980□□405.

[29] [illegible]□1985[illegible]□*No More Vietnams*[illegible]"[illegible]"□"[illegible]"Richard M. Nixon□*No More Vietnams*□New York□Arbor House□1985□□31.

[30] JFD-Nixon telcon□April 19□1954□JFD Phone Calls□Eisenhower Library□Eisenhower-Nixon telcon□April 19□1954□Box 5□DDE Diary□Ann Whitman File□Eisenhower Library□*Wall Street Journal*□April 19□1954.

[31] [illegible]□1954□4□19[illegible]□1954□4□19□□

[32] □□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□30□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

[33] Robert F. Randle□*Geneva 1954□The Settlement of the Indo Chinese War*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1969□□92□Herbert S. Parmet□*Richard Nixon and His America*□Boston□Little□Brown□1990□□318-19.

[34] □□□·□□□□□□1954□4□24□□Eisenhower Library□

[35] C. L. Sulzberger□*A Long Row of Candles□Memoirs and Diaries□1934-1954*□New York□Macmillan□1969□□836-37□C. L. Sulzberger□“Foreign Affairs□The Day It All Began□”□□□□□□□1967□1□11□□

[36] “Rapport Navarre□” April 21□1954□74 AP 39□Paul Reynaud Papers□Archives Nationale□Laurent Cesari and Jacques de Folin□“Military Necessity□Political Impossibility□The French Viewpoint on Operation *Vautour*□” in Kaplan□Artaud□and Rubin□*Dien Bien Phu*□112-13.

[37] Eden to FO□April 24□1954□FO 371/112055□TNA□Dulles to Eisenhower□April 22□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1361-62.

[38] Dulles to Eisenhower□April 22□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1361-62.

[39] □□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□22□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□169□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□61□

[40] □□□□□□□1954□4□22□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□169□

[41] Georges Bidault□*Resistance□The Political Autobiography of Georges Bidault*□trans.Marianne Sinclair□New York□Praeger□1968□□196.

[42] Jean Chauvel□*Commentaire□De Berne à Paris□1952-1962*□Paris□Fayard□1973□□3□45-46□Georges Bidault□*D’une résistance à l’autre*□Paris□Presses de siècle□1965□□198□Cesari and de Folin□“Military Necessity□” 113. □□J. R. Tournoux□*Secrets d’état*□Paris□Plon□1960□□48-49□Roscoe Drummond and Gaston Coblentz□*Duel at the Brink*□New York□Doubleday□1960□□121-22□

[43] □MacArthur to Dulles□April 7□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1270-72□

[44] Cutler memo□April 30□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1445-48□John Prados□*Operation Vulture*□New York□ibooks□2002□□213□William J.

Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□ Stanford University Press□1994□□167.

[45] Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□236□emphasis added.

[46] Navarre to Ely□April 22□1954□1 K 233□35□□Ely Papers□Service historique del’armée de terre□□□□□1954□4□23□□1 K 233□19□□Ely Papers□ Service historique de l’armée de terre□Cesari and de Folin□“Military Necessity□” 113-14□

[47] Eden□*Full Circle*□102□□□□□□1954□4□24□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□171□

[48] Dulles to Eisenhower□April 23□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□1374.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□ 1954□4□23□□34-M1153□NAA□

[49] Eisenhower-Smith telcon□April 24□1954□Box 5□DDE diary□Ann Whitman File□Eisenhower Library.

[50] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□24□□ Eisenhower Library□

[51] □□□□□Gardner□*Approaching Vietnam*□237□

[52] Eden□*Full Circle*□114-15□Iveragh McDonald□*A Man of the Times□Talks and Travels in a Disrupted World*□London□1976□□137□□□David Carlton□*Anthony Eden□A Biography*□New York□HarperCollins□1986□□345-46□

[53] Dulles to Smith□April 24□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□1□ 1398-99□Eden to FO□April 24□1954□FO 371/112056□TNA□□□□□1954□4□26□□ 34-M1153□NAA□Eden□*Full Circle*□116□Hoopes□*Devil and John Foster Dulles*□ 217□

[54] Eden to FO□April 24□1954□FO 371/112056□TNA.

[55] □□□□□□□1954□4□24□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□172□

[56] Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□173□Eden□*Full Circle*□117.

[57] “Indochina□” April 27□1954□CAB 129/68□TNA□entry for April 25□Harold Macmillan□*The Macmillan Diaries□The Cabinet Years□1950-1957*□ed. Peter Catterall□London□Macmillan□2003□□309.

[58] Record of conversation at dinner□April 26□1954□FO 371/112057□TNA. □□Chester L. Cooper□*In the Shadows of History□Fifty Years Behind the Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy*□Amherst□N.Y.□Prometheus□2005□□123-24□

[59] RN dictabelts□VP diary□April 29□1954□Nixon Library□Yorba Linda□Calif.

[60] Record of conversation at dinner□April 26□1954□FO 371/112057□TNA.

[61] Carl W. McCardle to Dulles□April 30□1954□Box 2□General Correspondence and Memoranda Series□Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library□□□□□□□□1954□4□24□□Shuckburgh□*Descent to Suez*□172□

[62] □□□·D.□□□□□□□□1954□4□27□□diary series□“April 1954□” Ann Whitman File□Eisenhower Library□Eisenhower to Hazlett□April 27□1954□Ann Whitman File□Eisenhower Library□

[63] □□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□4□30□□

[64] RN dictabelts□VP diary□April 29□1954□Nixon Library□Yorba Linda□Calif.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

1954[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]80[illegible]

[illegible]1500[illegible]1917[illegible]Passchendaele[illegible]45[illegible]——[illegible][1][illegible]

[illegible]29[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]Geneviève de Galard-Terraube[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]4[illegible]17[illegible]800[illegible]31[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]4[illegible]701[illegible]1948[illegible]375[illegible]47[illegible][3][illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]50[illegible]100[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]B-29[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]2400[illegible]1.1[illegible]1.2[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4]

[illegible][5][illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”（Operation Condor[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][6]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]4[illegible]23[illegible]24[illegible]C-119“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]37[illegible]2000[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]40[illegible][7]

[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]4000[illegible]C-47[illegible]18[illegible]C-119[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]20[illegible][8]

[illegible]100[illegible]4[illegible]25[illegible][9]

[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]

> [illegible]0:45[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]Nguyen Thi Ngoc Toan[illegible]

> [illegible][11]

[illegible]4[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible][12]

[illegible]4[illegible]

> [illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible][13]

“[illegible]”[illegible]N.T.[illegible]25[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]71[illegible]3[illegible]N.T.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5%[illegible]50%[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]75[illegible][15]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]80%[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]

[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]2[illegible]27[illegible]“[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]16[illegible]”[19][illegible]

[illegible]3[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□16□□□□“□□□□□□”□[20]

□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□Hoan Van Hoang□□□“□□□□□□”□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[21]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[22]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□“□□□□□”——□□[23]

□□4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□-□□[24]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□4□3□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[25]□□□

□

□□□5□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□4□29□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□90□□4□30□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C-119□□5□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□

□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□3□□□□□□□□□□□□□□312□□□316□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□308□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□□□□□□□□□□2□□□□□□1□□□□□□□□□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□331□□“□□□”[26]

□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[27]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1□□

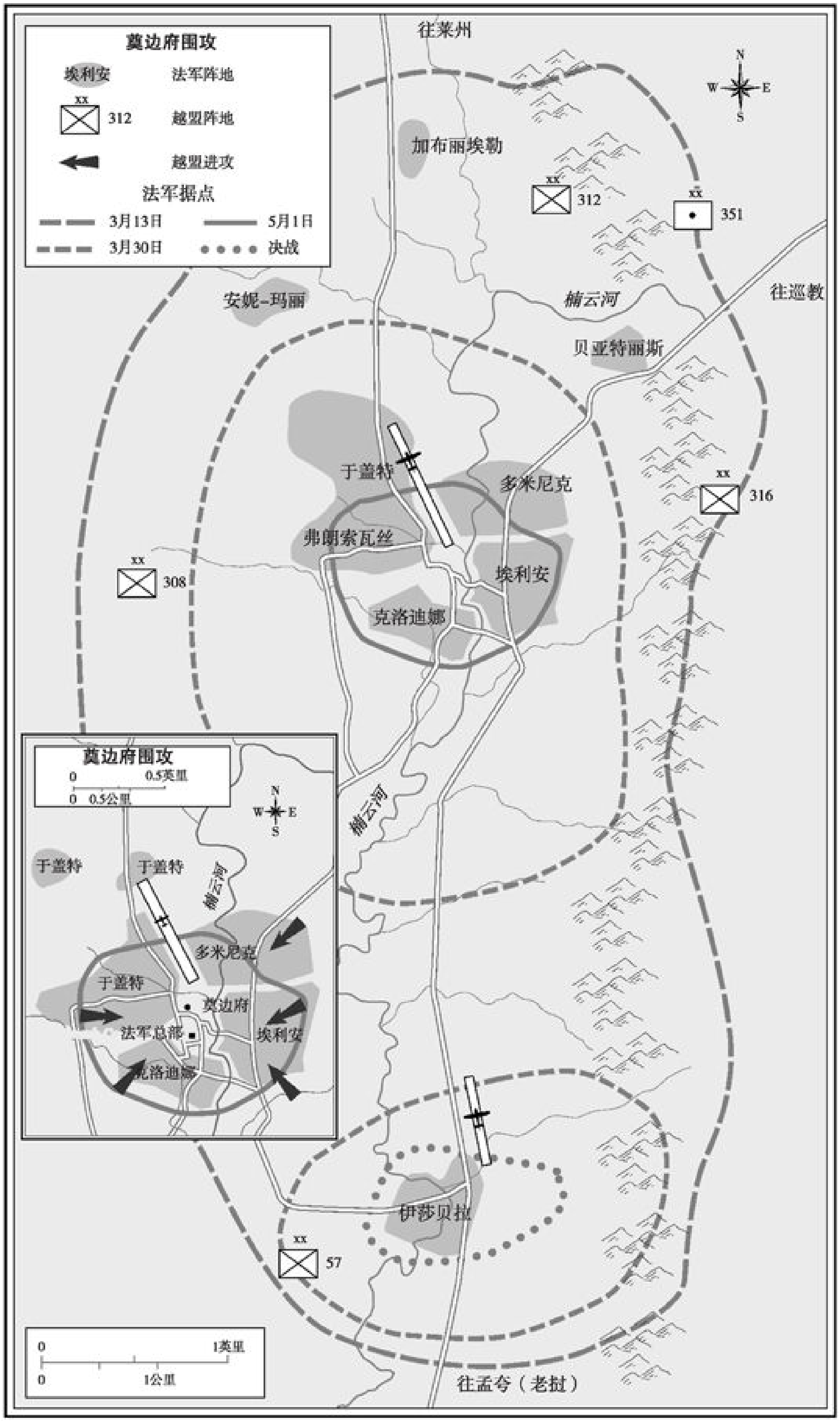
[illegible]4[illegible]80[illegible]4[illegible]3000[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]3[illegible]55[illegible][28]

[illegible]·[illegible]1[illegible]53[illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible]——[illegible]8[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]—[29]


奠边府围攻
埃利安
法军阵地
312
越盟阵地
越盟进攻
法军据点
3月13日
5月1日
3月30日
决战
往莱州
加布丽埃勒
312
351
往巡教
楠云河
安妮-玛丽
贝亚特丽斯
于盖特
多米尼克
316
弗朗索瓦丝
埃利安
308
克洛迪娜
楠云河
伊莎贝拉
57
往孟夸（老挝）
0
1英里
1公里
奠边府围攻
0.5英里
0.5公里
于盖特
于盖特
楠云河
多米尼克
于盖特
奠边府
法军总部
埃利安
克洛迪娜

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]Muong Nha[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][30]

[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]196[illegible]91[illegible]3[illegible][31]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]CAT[illegible]·[illegible]Art Wilson[illegible]37[illegible]Cat Ni[illegible]

[illegible]CAT[illegible]·B.[illegible]James B. McGovern[illegible]*Li’l Abner*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]45[illegible]·[illegible]Wallace Buford[illegible]C-119[illegible]37[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]“[illegible]C-119[illegible]CAT[illegible]”[33][illegible]3[illegible]13[illegible]37[illegible]CAT[illegible]700[illegible][34]

[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[35][illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]30[illegible]100[illegible]900[illegible]5[illegible]Juno[illegible]4000[illegible]2000[illegible]750[illegible][36]

[illegible]4[illegible]351[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[37]

“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]10[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]30[illegible]3[illegible]5[illegible]3000[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]11[illegible]2[illegible]2[illegible]1300[illegible]TNT[illegible]1864[illegible]1916[illegible]Hawthorn Reoloubt[illegible]·[illegible]Jean Pouget[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]——[illegible]*Chant des Partisans*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible][39]

[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]300[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]312[illegible]308[illegible]4[illegible]3[illegible]11[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[40]

[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]André Lalande[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]70[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]4[illegible]45[illegible]·[illegible]10[illegible]

“[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible]

> [illegible]45[illegible]……
>
> [illegible][42]

[illegible]81[illegible]·[illegible]Edouard Herriot[illegible]“[illegible]”[43]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Le Franc-Tireur*[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[44]

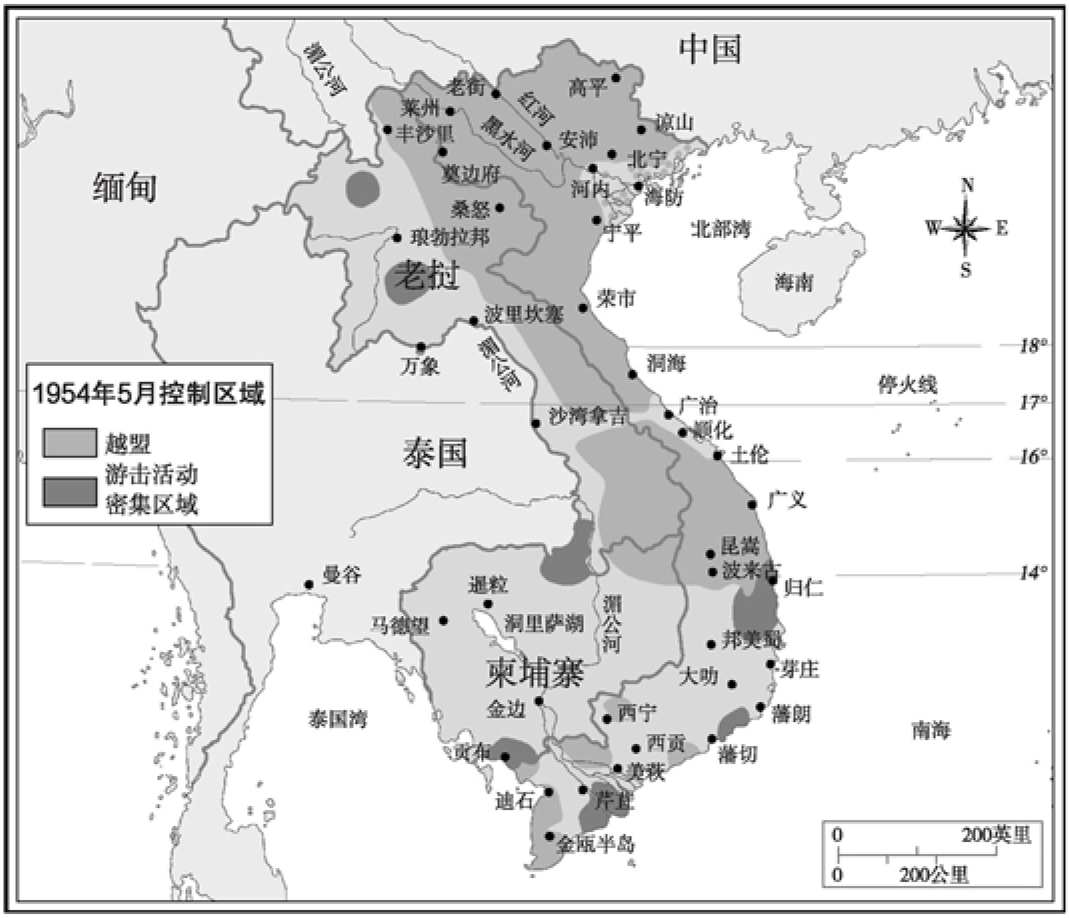
[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[45]

[illegible]·[illegible]Benjamin Bradlee[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[46]

[illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]1.5[illegible]1953[illegible]3[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]800[illegible]80%[illegible]70%[illegible]——[illegible]100[illegible]10[illegible]



□

　　□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□120□□□□□□Moc Chau□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□15□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□

　　□□5□7□□□□□□□□□□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[47]□□□□□·□□“□□□

[illegible]”[illegible]4000[illegible]

[illegible]Song River[illegible]480[illegible]720[illegible]900[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][48]

[illegible]9000[illegible][49][illegible]40[illegible]20[illegible]800[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][50]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][51]

[illegible]1950[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]70[illegible]120[illegible]70[illegible][52]

1954[illegible]8[illegible]25[illegible]

[illegible]1955[illegible]3[illegible]International Control Commission[illegible]ICC[illegible]1954[illegible]8[illegible]18[illegible]3900[illegible]43%[illegible]57%[illegible]1000[illegible]3500[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Martin Windrow[illegible]60%[illegible]20[illegible][53]

[illegible]1955[illegible]1[illegible]1.5[illegible]·[illegible]Christopher Goscha[illegible]3[illegible]32%——[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]20%[illegible]23.7%[illegible][54]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]25[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1[illegible]7[illegible]3[illegible]13[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]41[illegible]13[illegible][55]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][56]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]-[illegible]3000[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
——□□□□□600□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□——5□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

---

[1] □□□60□□□Pierre Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu*□□Paris□Flammarion□1968□□Martin Windrow□*The Last Valley*□*Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004□□Bernard B. Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□*The Siege of Dien Bien Phu*□Philadelphia□Lippincott□1966□□Jules Roy□*The Battle of Dienbienphu*□trans. Robert Baldick□New York□Harper& Row□1965□reprint Carroll & Graf□1984□□Pierre Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu*□*20 novembre 1953-7 mai 1954*□Paris□Perrin□2004□□Ted Morgan□*Valley of Death*□*The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu That Led America into the Vietnam War*□New York□Random House□2010□□Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□*Paroles de Dien Bien Phu*□*Les survivants témoignent*□Paris□Tallandier□2004□□

[2] Howard R. Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□*The Epic Battle America Forgot*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey's□1994□□138. □□Paul Grauwin□*J'étais médecin à Dien-Bien-Phu*□Paris□France-Empire□1954□□chaps. 10-11□

[3] Morgan□*Valley of Death*□504.

[4] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□137□Marcel-Maurice Bigeard□*Pour une parcelle de gloire*□Paris□Plon□1975□□176-79.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Navarre à Monsieur le Ministre des Etats Associés□May 6□1954□Dossier 1□457 AP 53□Conférence de Genève□Archives Nationale□

[6] John Keegan□*Dien Bien Phu*□New York□Ballantine□1974□□126.

[7] □□Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□122□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□341□

[8] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□237□266.

[9] Windrow□*Last Valley*□538□Roy□*Battle of Dienbienphu*□226-67.

[10] Ton That Tung□*Reminiscences of a Vietnamese Surgeon*□Hanoi□Foreign Languages Publishing House□1980□□47.

[11] □□□□□□□□□□□□2007□6□11□□□□□□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□□□□□□□

[12] □□□□□□1954□4□19□□Archives of the Ministry of National Defense□Document 173□sheets 49-51□Central Department□as cited in Vo Nguyen Giap□*Memoirs of War□The Road to Dien Bien Phu*□Hanoi□Gioi□2004□□114□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□341-42□Carlyle Thayer□*War by Other Means□National Liberation and Revolution in Viet Nam□1954-1960*□Sydney□Allen& Unwin□1989□□3-5□

[13] Giap□*Road to Dien Bien Phu*□114.

[14] Truong Huyen Chi and Marc Jason Gilbert□"Voices of Dien Bien Phu□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Marc Gilbert□□□□□□□□□□

[15] Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□484□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□340.

[16] □□□□□□□□Pierre Asselin□"The DRVN and the 1954 Geneva Conference□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□25□

[17] □□□□Asselin□"DRVN and Geneva Conference□" 29□

[18] □□□□□□□Chen Jian□"China and the Indochina Settlement at the Geneva Conference of 1954□" in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□242□

[19] Ilya V. Gaiduk□*Confronting Vietnam□Soviet Policy Toward the Indochina Conflict□1954-1963*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□2003□□18. □□Mari Olsen□*Soviet-Vietnam Relations and the Role of China□1949-1964□Changing Alliances*□London□Routledge□2006□□32-34□

[20] Gaiduk□*Confronting Vietnam*□18□Zhou Enlai to Ho Chi Minh□telegram□March 11□1954□in Cold War International History Project binder□Chen Jian□"China and Indochina Settlement□" 244-45.

[21] □□Nguyen Vu Tung□"The Road to Geneva□How the DRV Changed Its Positions□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[22] Qiang Zhai□*China and the Vietnam Wars□1950-1975*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□2000□□51.

[23] Chen Jian□"China and the Indochina Settlement□" 245□Trinh Quang Thanh□interview by author□Hanoi□January 2003.

[24] Zhai□*China and the Vietnam Wars*□51-53.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Gaiduk□*Confronting Vietnam*□22-24□

[25] Zhai□*China and the Vietnam Wars*□48.

[26] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□354□Erwan Bergot□*Les 170 jours de Diên Biên Phu*□Paris□Presses de la cité□1979□□267-69.

[27] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□354.

[28] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□151.

[29] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□151-52□□□□□□□□□□□

[30] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□360-61.

[31] Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□371-72.

[32] Windrow□*Last Valley*□597□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□373-74.

[33] Simpson□*Dien Bien Phu*□158.

[34] 1997□□C-119□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2002□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□CIA□□□35□□□□□□□□□1700□□□□□□□□□□□□

[35] □□Roy□*Battle of Dienbienphu*□264□

[36] Keegan□*Dien Bien Phu*□141.

[37] Captain Le Damany□□□Windrow□*Last Valley*□601□

[38] Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□530-31□Windrow□*Last Valley*□602-3□Roy□*Battle of Dienbienphu*□268.

[39] Roy□*Battle of Dienbienphu*□268.

[40] Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□538.

[41] Bernard B. Fall□“*Dien Bien Phu□Battle to Remember*□”□□□□□□□□□1964□5□3□□□“□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[42] □□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□415-16□

[43] □□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□415-16□Roy□*Battle of Dienbienphu*□286□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□5□17□□□

[44] □□□□□□□□□1954□5□17□□□

[45] □□Michael Maclear□*The Ten Thousand Day War*□New York□Avon□1982□□46.□□□□Robert Guillain□*Diên-Biên-Phu□La fin des illusions* □Notesd’Indochine□février-juillet 1954□□Paris□Arléa□2004□□163-69□

[46] □□□□□□1954□5□17□□□

[47] □□□□□10061□□□□□□□□□2257□□□□□932□□□□□□804□□□□□□□□221□□□□□2262□□□□□□□□3585□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Morgan□*Valley of Death*□559.

[48] Windrow□*Last Valley*□638-39.

[49] □□□□Pierre Journoud and Hugues Tertrais□*Paroles de Dien Bien Phu*□chap.4□Fall□*Hell in a Very Small Place*□432-47□Robert Bonnafous□*Les Prisonniers de guerre du corps expéditionnaire français en Extrême Orient dans les camps Viêt minh□1945-1954□*□Montpellier□Université Paul Valéry□1985□□

[50] Douglas Porch□*The French Foreign Legion□A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force*□New York□HarperCollins□1991□□561-62□Bernard B. Fall□*Street Without Joy□Indochina at War 1946-1954*□reprint ed.□Mechanicsburg□Pa.□Stackpole□1994□□301-2.

[51] Jean-Louis Rondy□“Les méthodes Viet-Minh de lavage de cerveau□” *Revue historiquesdes armées* 4□1989□□74-81.

[52] Bernard B. Fall□“Communist POW Treatment in Indochina□” *Military Review*□December 1958□□6.

[53] Windrow□*Last Valley*□647□Rocolle□*Pourquoi Dien Bien Phu□*□548-49□René Bail□*L’enfer de Diên Biên Phu□novembre 1953-mai 1954*□Bayeux□Éditions Heimdal□2001□□158.

[54] Christopher E. Goscha□“The Body Under Siege□” □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□3□□

[55] Keegan□*Dien Bien Phu*□153-54.

[56] Bernard B. Fall□“Post-Mortems on Dien Bien Phu□Review Article□” *Far Eastern Survey* 27□*no.* 10□October 1958□□158□Keegan□*Dien Bien Phu*□154.

□□□□ □□□□□□□ 1954□

□□□□ □□□□□□

□

1954□5□8□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□4□24□25□□□□□□□□□□□4□24□□□□□□□□□□Cointrin Airport□□□□□□□□□□□200□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□[1]

□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□4□25□□□□□□□□□□·□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□ □□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[2]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Le Grand Mont-Fleuri□□□□26□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□8□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Hotel Beau Rivage□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□29□□□ □□□□□Clarissa□□□□□□□□□□□□□Le Reposoir□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□100□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]Hotel du Rhône[illegible][3]

[illegible]5[illegible]3[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]Foreign Operations Administration[illegible]·[illegible]Harold Stassen[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

[illegible]——[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]4[illegible]29[illegible]“[illegible]”[6]

1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]U[illegible]

[illegible]545-546[illegible][8]

[illegible]·L.[illegible]Chester L. Cooper[illegible]MIT[illegible][9]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“A.E.[illegible]”[10]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]4[illegible]30[illegible]

> [illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]……[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”……[illegible]·[illegible][11]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]Lord Reading[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]——[illegible][13]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]3[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]1[illegible]4[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[15]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible][17]

[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]Nguyen Quoc Dinh[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][18]

[illegible]——[illegible]24[illegible]1946[illegible]1949[illegible]1951[illegible]

5[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible][19][illegible]
[illegible]Khmer Issarak[illegible]“[illegible]”
[illegible][20]

[illegible]5[illegible]1[illegible][21][illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Michel de Brébisson[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]5[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]5[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24][illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]14[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]15[illegible][25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]leopard skin approach[illegible][26][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][27]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28]

[illegible]311[illegible]262[illegible]5[illegible]13[illegible]2[illegible]289[illegible]287[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]5[illegible]14[illegible][30]

[illegible]5[illegible]15[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][31]

[illegible]

[illegible]5[illegible]4[illegible]29[illegible]5[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Clifton Webb[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]
[32]

“[illegible]……”[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]
[33]

[illegible]5[illegible]25[illegible]——[illegible]

□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ ——□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Claude Cheysson□□□□·□□□□ □Raymond Offroy□□□□·□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□Ha Van Lou□□□□ □□ □□ □□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□——□·□□□□□□1945□11□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□320□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[34]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□ 27□□ □□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[35]□□□□711□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ ——□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□·□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”——□□□□□ □□□[36]□□□□□□□ □□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□5□29□□ □□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ □□ □□ □□□——□□ □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□
□□□[37]

□□“□□□”[38]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□36□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Gladwyn Jebb□□□·□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□”□□“□□□□”□□□“□□”□[39]

□□□[40]

□□“□□□□□□□”□□“□□□□□”□□6□2□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□[41]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]ANZUS[illegible]5[illegible]23[illegible]·[illegible]Richard Casey[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42]

[illegible]·J.[illegible]Amos J. Peaslee[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43]

[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][44]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible][45]

[illegible]1946[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]2[illegible]100[illegible]18[illegible][46]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][47]

[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible]·B.[illegible]Robert B.Carney[illegible][48]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][49]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]13[illegible][50][illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]6[illegible]14[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[51]

[illegible]6[illegible]15[illegible]·[illegible]Robert

Bowie[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52]

[illegible][53][illegible]——[illegible]17°50′[illegible]——[illegible]6[illegible]17[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[54]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]1954[illegible]6[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[55]

[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]306[illegible]296[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]30[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]

---

[1] Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture[illegible]*End of a War*[illegible]*Indochina*[illegible]1954[illegible]New York[illegible]Praeger[illegible]1969[illegible]122.

[2] [illegible]1954[illegible]4[illegible]25[illegible]

[3] Devillers and Lacouture[illegible]*End of a War*[illegible]123.

[4] [illegible]James Cable[illegible]*The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*[illegible]London[illegible]Macmillan[illegible]1986[illegible]65[illegible]

[5] VP diary[illegible]RN dictabelt[illegible]April 29[illegible]1954[illegible]Nixon Presidential Library[illegible]Yorba Linda[illegible]Calif.[illegible]1954[illegible]4[illegible]29[illegible]*FRUS*[illegible]*1952-1954*[illegible]*Indochina*[illegible]XIII[illegible]2[illegible]1431-35.

[6] [illegible]1954[illegible]4[illegible]29[illegible]1954[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]1954[illegible]5[illegible]14[illegible]

[7] Chester L. Cooper[illegible]*In the Shadows of History*[illegible]*Fifty Years Behind the Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy*[illegible]Amherst[illegible]N.Y.[illegible]Prometheus[illegible]2005[illegible]118.

[8] [illegible]Cooper[illegible]*In the Shadows of History*[illegible]113[illegible]

[9] Cooper[illegible]*In the Shadows of History*[illegible]117. [illegible]1970[illegible]*The Lost Crusade*[illegible]*America in Vietnam*[illegible]New York[illegible]Dodd[illegible]Mead[illegible]1970[illegible]77[illegible]

[10] 1954[illegible]4[illegible]26[illegible]·[illegible]*Descent to Suez*[illegible]*Diaries*[illegible]*1951-1956*[illegible]New York[illegible]W.W. Norton[illegible]1987[illegible]177[illegible]

[11] 1954□4□30□□□□□·□□□□□□□*Descent to Suez□Diaries□1951-1956*□New York□W.W. Norton□1987□□183-85□Matthew Jones□“The Geneva Conference of 1954□New Perspectives and Evidence on British Policy and Anglo-American Relations□” □□□□□□□□□□□□□

[12] Geneva to FO□May 2□1954□FO 371/104840□1954□5□2□□□□□·□□□□□□□*Descent to Suez*□186□□□Eden□“Discussions on the Situation in South-East Asia□March 29-May 22□” June 11□1954□PREM 11/649□TNA□

[13] Geoffrey Warner□“From Geneva to Manila□British Policy Toward Indochina and SEATO□May-September 1954□” in Lawrence S. Kaplan□Denise Artaud□and Mark Rubin□eds.□*Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations□1954-1955*□Wilmington□Del.□Scholarly Resources□1990□□150.

[14] Moran Diaries□entry for May 4□1954 from Lord Moran□*Churchill□The Struggle for Survival□1940-1965*□London□Constable□1966□□573.□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□” Churchill to Eden□June 16□1954□PREM 11/666□

[15] Jean Chauvel□*Commentaire□De Berne à Paris□1952-1962*□Paris□Fayard□1973□□3□56□□□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□71□

[16] Reading letter to Lloyd□May 14□1954□SELO 5/15□Selwyn Lloyd Papers□Churchill College□Cambridge. □□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”Paris to FO□May 3□1954□FO 371/112058□TNA. □□Donald Maitland□*Diverse Times□Sundry Places*□Brighton□U.K.□Alpha Press□1996□□74□

[17] □□□□□1954□5□3□□AP20/1/30□Anthony Eden Papers□University of Birmingham□hereafter UB□□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□70. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tim Weiner□*Legacy of Ashes□The History of the CIA*□New York□Doubleday□2007□□79□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Donald Maitland□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”Maitland□*Diverse Times*□74□

[18] Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□151-52. □□□□□□□□1954□5□11□□□□□□□□

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□5□9□□□□□□no. 206-Y0049□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□5□9□□□□□□no. 206-Y0049□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[20] “Indochine□Propositions faire par le Délégation de la République du Viêt-Nam□” May 10□1954□Box X□Indochine□Institut Pierre Mendès France

□hereafter IPMF□□Paris.

[21] □Tahourdin and Allen□“Record of a talk with a member of the Soviet delegation□” May 1□1954□FO 371/112060□TNA□

[22] □·□□□□□□□□1954□6□17□□□□Edouard Frédéric-Dupont□*Mission de la France enAsie*□Paris□Éditions France-Empire□1956□□172-73□

[23] Pierre Asselin□“The DRVN and the 1954 Geneva Conference□New Evidence and Perspectives from Vietnam□” □□□1954□5□9□□□□□□no. 206-Y0049□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□5□12□□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□780-83□

[25] “Notes made by Mr. MacArthur for his own information□following a meeting between the Secretary and Mr. Allen Dulles□” May 14□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1562-64□Eden to FO□May 15□1954□FO 371/112065.

[26] Bidault à MAE□May 11□1954□Dossier IV□Conférence de la Genève 26 avril-17 juin□457 AP 55□AN□“Décision prise en Comité de Défense Nationale le 15 May 1954□” Dossier IV□DPMF□Indochine□IPMF□Jacques Dalloz□*Georges Bidault□Biographie politique*□Paris□Éditions L’Harmattan□1993□□367-68.

[27] “Memcon□French Military Briefing□Indochina□” May 11□1954□Box 49□CF 312□Record Group 59□NARA.

[28] Guillermaz quoted in James Waite□“The End of the First Indochina War□” Ph.D. dissertation□Ohio University□2005□pp. 225-26□Eden to FO□May 11□1954□FO 371/112063□TNA□Chiefs of Staff Committee□“Confidential Annex□” May 12□1954□FO 371/112064□TNA.

[29] □□□□□□1954□5□7□□

[30] □□□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1534-36□1566-68□1574-75□1586-90□1618-20□Paris to FO□May 16□1954□FO 371/112065□TNA□

[31] Eden to FO□May 1954□FO 371/112065□TNA□Eden to FO□May 16□1954□FO371/112066□TNA.

[32] Spender to Tange□May 21□1954□A5462/1□pt.3□CRS National Archives of Australia□Webb to Holland□May 20□1954□EA1□316/4/1□pt.7□CRS Archives of

New Zealand.

[33] Dulles to Rusk□May 24□1954□Box 8□“General Foreign Policy Matters □3□□” White House Memoranda Series□Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library.□□ Matthew Jones□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[34] Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□201-2□232.

[35] □□William J. Duiker□*U.S. Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□176-77□

[36] □□□□□□□□□□□□1954□5□29□□□□□□□□□1954□5□31□□

[37] Geneva to FO□May 29□1954□FO 371/112068□TNA□Geneva to State □Dulles□□May 30□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□974-78□ □□□□□1954□5□29□□AP20/17/231□UB□Cooper□*Lost Crusade*□85□

[38] Smith to Dulles□May 30□1954□Box 9□Indochina May 1953-May 1954 □1□□Dulles Papers□Eisenhower Library. □□□□□*FRUS*□□□□□Matthew Jones□□□□□ □□□□□□

[39] Paris to FO□May 29□1954□FO 371/112089□TNA□Geneva to FO□for Churchill□□May 30□1954□FO 371/112089□TNA.

[40] Eden to FO□June 1□1954□FO 371/112089□TNA□Eden diary□May 30□ 1954□AP20/17/231□UB□Eden diary□June 1□1954□AP20/17/231□UB.

[41] Geneva to State□June 2□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□1005-8.

[42] Hiroyuki Umetsu□“Australia’s Response to the Indochina Crisis of 1954 Amidst the Anglo-American Confrontation□” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 52□no. 3□2006□□esp. 406-14□□□□□□414□□□□Gregory Pemberton□ “Australia□the United States□and the Indo-China Crises of 1954□” *Diplomatic History* 13□Winter 1989□□45-66□

[43] Umetsu□“Australia’s Response□” 414.

[44] Umetsu□“Australia’s Response□” 414□Memcon□June 4□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□East Asia and the Pacific*□XII□1□537-39□Washington to FO□June 3□ 1954□FO 371/112089□TNA.

[45] Pierre Pellissier□*Diên Biên Phu□20 novembre 1953-7 mai 1954*□Paris□Perrin□2004□□459-68□Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□181-83.

[46] “Fiche sur la Conférence à cinq de Washington sur le Sud-Est Asiatique□” Indochine 295□Asie-Océanie 1944-1955□MAE□British Joint Staff Mission□DC□to MOD□June 7□1954□FO 371/112070□TNA□“Report of the Five Power Military Conference of June 1954□Pentagon□June 11□1954□” FO 371/111866□TNA. □□□□□□□□□Enclosure C□Annexes 2 and 3□

[47] Robert Buzzanco□“Prologue to Tragedy□U.S. Military Opposition to Interventionin Vietnam□1950-1954□” *Diplomatic History* 17□Spring 1993□□201-22.□□□□□□□ David L. Anderson□*Trapped by Success□The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam□1953-1961*□New York□Columbia University Press□1991□□29□

[48] Cabinet minutes□June 5□1954□CAB 128/27□TNA□□□□□□1954□6□6□□AP20/17/231□UB□

[49] June 16□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1711-13.

[50] R. G. □□□□□1954□6□13□-M1153□NAA□

[51] SecState to Paris□June 14□1954□in *FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XVI□1147.

[52] □□□□□□□□□□□□1954□6□15□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1693-94□

[53] □5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□Robert McClintock□□□□□□□□□“□□□”Saigon to State□May 13□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1552-53□

[54] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□6□17□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1713-18□

[55] Geneva□Eden□to FO□June 12□1954□FO 371/112089□TNA□Dwight D. Eisenhower□*Mandate for Change□The White House Years□1953-1956*□Garden City□N.Y.□Doubleday□1963□□366.

[illegible] “[illegible]”

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]1954[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]6[illegible]13[illegible]-[illegible]6[illegible]14[illegible]—[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]-[illegible][2][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible][3]

[illegible]-[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]-[illegible]1954[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]419[illegible]47[illegible]143[illegible]*Combat*[illegible]*France Observateur*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1684[illegible]1907[illegible]1938[illegible]·[illegible]1944[illegible]1945[illegible]FDR[illegible]“PMF”[illegible][4]

[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Guy La Chambre[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[5][illegible]·[illegible][6][illegible]6[illegible][7]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Raymond Aron[illegible][8][illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible][9]

[illegible]6[illegible]15[illegible]6[illegible]14[illegible]6[illegible]16[illegible]6[illegible]18[illegible][10]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible][11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][12][illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[14]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][15][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]

……

[16]

[17]

6 19 · Chester Ronning - - · [18] - 6 23 [19]

“ ” L’homme était impressionnant - —— —— “ ” -

“ ”

[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]7[illegible]15[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]

1954[illegible]**6**[illegible]**22**[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]16[illegible]17[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible][21]

“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[22]

1954[illegible]6[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible][23]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1933[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1947[illegible]1948[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1950[illegible]1953[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Wesley Fishel[illegible]·[illegible]Francis Cardinal Spellman[illegible]·[illegible]·F.[illegible]·O.[illegible]William O. Douglas[illegible]·[illegible]Edmund Walsh[illegible][24]

[illegible]1954[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]5[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][25][illegible]1950[illegible]1953[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible][26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

> [illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27]

[illegible]Ngo Dinh Luyen[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[28]

[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]6[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]18[illegible][31]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Philip Bonsal[illegible][32]

[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]21[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[33]

[illegible]6[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][34]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]6[illegible]6[illegible]26[illegible]——[illegible]SEATO[illegible]

[illegible]6[illegible]28[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][37][illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible][38]

---

[1] □□Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture□*End of a War□Indochina□1954* □New York□Praeger□1969□□246□□□Eric Roussel□*Pierre Mendès France*□Paris□Gallimard□2007□□226□Jean Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□trans□George Holock□New York□Holmes & Meier□1984□□213□

[2] [illegible]Hugues Tertrais□*La piastre et le fusil□Le coût de la guerre d'Indochine 1945-1954*□Paris□Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière de la France□2002□□

[3] Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□246.

[4] Robert O.Paxton□“Mr.France□” *New York Review of Books*□June 13□1985.

[5] □□Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□205□

[6] □□□□“Entretien de Bidault et Chou En Lai□” June 8□1954□Indochine□Box V□Oc□IPMF□

[7] [illegible]Georges Bidault□*Resistance□The Political Autobiography of Georges Bidault*□trans.Marianne Sinclair□New York□Praeger□1968□□chap.10□

[8] □□□□□□Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□217□

[9] “Extract from Minute #6 of the Plenum Conference of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union□Conference June 24□1954□” Molotov's report to CPSU Central Committee on the Geneva Conference□Harvard Project on Cold War Studies Online Archive□http□//www.fas.harvard.edu/□hpcws/documents.htm□Geneva□Eden□to FO□June 19□1954□FO 371/112074□TNA.

[10] Geneva□Eden□to FO□June 16□1954□FO 371/112073□TNA□□□□□1954□6□16□□AP20/17/231□Eden Papers□UB□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□6□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1998□□□98□□□□□□□□□□

[11] Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□220.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Mari Olsen□*Soviet-Vietnam Relations and the Role of China□1949-1964□Changing Alliances*□London□Routledge□2006□□40□

[12] □□□□□1954□6□18□□AP20/17/231□Eden Papers□UB□

[13] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□6□19□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1998□□□98□□Chen Jian□“China and the Indochina Settlement at the Geneva Conference of 1954□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□251-52□François Joyaux□*La Chine et le règlement du premier confl it d’Indochine□Genève 1954*□Paris□Publications de la Sorbonne□1979□□227-31.

[14] □□Christopher E.Goscha□“Geneva 1954 and the ‘Deinternationalization’of the Vietnamese Idea of Indochina□” □□□□□□□□□□□□

[15] Goscha□“Geneva 1954”□Joyaux□*La Chine et le règlement du premier conflit d’Indochine*□Gilles Boquérat□“India’s Commitment to Peaceful Coexistence and the Settlement of the Indochina War□” *Cold War History* 5□May 2005□□211-34.

[16] Chen Jian□“China and the Indochina Settlement□” 251-52.

[17] William J.Duiker□*U.S.Containment Policy and the* Conflict *in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□182-83.□□□1975□□□“□□□□”□

[18] Geneva to Ottawa□June 21□1954□CAB 12/69□TNA□James Cable□*The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*□London□Macmillan□1986□□104.

[19] Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□220.

[20] Geneva to MAE□“Entrevue Mendès-France-Chou En Lai à Berne□” June 23□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Roussel□*Pierre Mendès France*□238-40.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Minutes of Zhou Enlau’s meeting with Pierre Mendès

France□June 23□1954□Record no.206-Y0007□□□□□□□□□Chinese Foreign Ministry Archives□□□□□CFMA□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[21] “Réunion du 24 juin 1954 chez le Président Mendès France□” June 24□1954□Dossier V□DPMF□Indochine□IPMF.

[22] □□Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□257□

[23] “Réunion du 24 juin 1954 chez le Président Mendès France□” June 24□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

[24] Edward Miller□“Vision□Power and Agency□The Ascent of Ngô Dình Diêm□1945-54□” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35□October 2004□□433-58□and Philip E.Catton□*Diem’s Final Failure□Prelude to America’s War in Vietnam*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2002□□5-7.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Don Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield□The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat*□Washington□D.C.□Smithsonian□2003□□118□□□Wilson D.Miscamble□“Francis Cardinal Spellman and ‘Spellman’s War’□” in David L.Anderson□ed.□*The Human Tradition in the Vietnam Era*□Wilmington□Del.□Scholarly Resources□2000□□3-22□

[25] □□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□1979□□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□last accessed on October 25□2010□□

[26] Miller□“Vision□Power and Agency.”

[27] Bao Dai□*Le dragon d’Annam*□Paris□Plon□1980□□328.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Chester Cooper□□□□□Cooper□*The Lost Crusade□America in Vietnam*□New York□Dodd□Mead□1970□□126-27□Cooper□*In the Shadows of History□Fifty Years Behind the Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy*□Amherst□N.Y.□Prometheus□2005□□120□□□□□·□□□□□4□24□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1953□4□26□□34-M1153□NAA□

[28] □□Seth Jacobs□*America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam□Ngo Dinh Diem□Religion□Race□and U.S.Intervention in Southeast Asia□1950-1957*□Durham□N.C.□Duke University Press□2005□□54□

[29] Cooper□*Lost Crusade*□124□Paris to State□May 24□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII 2□1608-9□Saigon to State□July 4□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1782-84.

[30] Paris to State□May 24□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1609.

[31] Stelle to Bowie□June 24□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1741-43.

[32] □□Duiker□*U.S.Containment*□185□

[33] Churchill to Eisenhower□June 21□1954□PREM 11/649□TNA.

[34] [illegible]6□23□□24□□28[illegible]George C.Herring□*America’s Longest War□The United States and Vietnam□1950-1975*□4th ed.□New York□McGraw-Hill□2002□□47-48□

[35] Editorial Note□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1751.

[36] “[illegible]1[illegible]2[illegible]“□□”[illegible]17[illegible]18[illegible]3[illegible]4[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]7[illegible]”□□“The Secretary of State to Embassy in France□” June 29□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1757-58□“The Ambassador in France□Dillon□to the Department of State□” June 30□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1768-69□

[37] Chauvel□Geneva□to PMF□July 1□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

[38] Paris to FO□June 30□1954□FO 371/112075□TNA□Chauvel□Geneva□to PMF□June 29□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

□□□□□ “□□□□□□□□□□□□□”

□

□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□“□□□□□”□□U Nu□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[1]

□□7□3□5□□Ta Quang Buu□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□26□□13□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□18□□□□□□□560□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□Operation Auvergne□□[2]

□□□——□□□□□□47□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□31□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]4[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible][3]

[illegible]13[illegible]16[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]9[illegible]17[illegible]16[illegible][4]

[illegible]7[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][5]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[7]

[illegible]7[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[8]

[illegible][9]

[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]10[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]7[illegible]——“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]·D.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]10[illegible][12]

[illegible]7[illegible]13[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□6□29□□□‘□□□’□□”[13]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□16□□□18□□□——□□□□□□9□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□“□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□7□14□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□[14]

□□□7□12□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□“□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tran Van Do□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□7□15□□□——□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[15]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]（Krishna Menon[illegible]7[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[16]

1954[illegible]7[illegible]19[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]18[illegible] 50%[illegible][17]7[illegible]18[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible][18][illegible]18[illegible]16[illegible]9[illegible]9.7[illegible]17[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]245[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]17[illegible]1956[illegible]7[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]18[illegible]——[illegible]17[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]

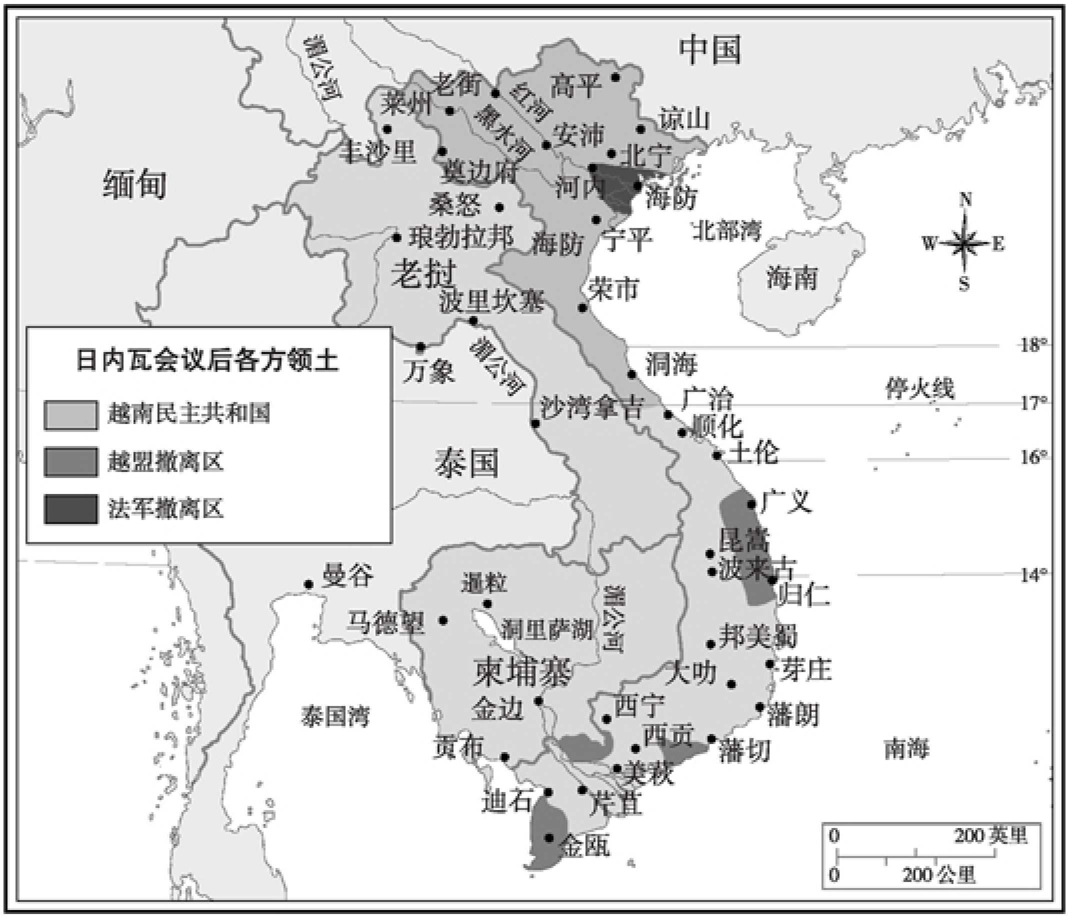
[illegible]5[illegible]15[illegible]8[illegible]Sam Sary[illegible][19][illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible][20]

[illegible]-[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]7[illegible]21[illegible]3[illegible]30[illegible]7[illegible]21[illegible]11[illegible][21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[22]

□□□□□□——□□□□-□□□17□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□DMZ□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□300□□□7□21□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□1956□7□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□1955□7□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[23]



[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]1954[illegible]7[illegible]489560[illegible]233467[illegible]72833[illegible]122920[illegible]60340[illegible]11[illegible][26]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]2[illegible]3”[illegible]A[illegible]K[illegible]Q[illegible][27][illegible]800[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]13[illegible]17[illegible]”[28]

[illegible]——“[illegible]”——[illegible]

[illegible][29][illegible]-[illegible][30][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]21[illegible]6[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]7[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible][32][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][33][illegible]1954[illegible]16[illegible]-[illegible]13[illegible]-[illegible]16[illegible]

17

[34]

——

——“”

“

80%

”[35]

6 23 -

-

[36]

7 16 1955 6

1955 7 20

1956 7

·

——

—— R.G. “

” · “

”[37]

—— ——

——

—— 1 2

——

[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[38][illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]7[illegible]21[illegible]

> [illegible]-[illegible]
>
> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible][39]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][40][illegible]1953[illegible]9[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]7[illegible]21[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[42]

---

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru□*Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*□2nd series□vol.26□*June 1□1954-September 30□1954*□New Delhi□Oxford University Press□2001□□371-72□Outward Telegram from Commonwealth Relations Office□June 30□1954□PREM11/64□TNA□*The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decisionmaking on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□148.

[2] Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture□*End of a War□Indochina□1954*□New York□Praeger□1969□□260-62.

[3] Chen Jian□“China and the Indochina Settlement at the Geneva Conference of 1954□” in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard UniversityPress□2007□□254-57□Pierre Asselin□“The Democratic Republic of Vietnamand the 1954 Geneva Conference□A Revisionist Critique□” *Cold War History* 11□2□May 2011□□169-70.□□Christopher Goscha□“Geneva 1954 and the ‘Deinternationalization’of the Vietnamese Idea of Indochina□” [illegible]*Dau Tranh Ngoai Giao trong Cach Mang Dan Toc Dan Chu Nhan Dan□1945-1954□*[illegible]1945-1954□□Hanoi□Bo Ngoai Giao□1976□□2□41□□Merle Pribbenow[illegible]

[4] Chen Jian□“China and the Indochina Settlement□” 257-58.

[5] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nguyen Vu Tung□“The Road to Geneva□How the DRV Changed Its Positions□” □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□22-24□Asselin□“Democratic Republic of Vietnam□” 171-73□

[6] Nguyen□“The Road to Geneva□” 25-26□*Dau Tranh Ngoai Giao trong Cach Mang Dan Toc Dan Chu Nhan Dan*□43□Asselin□“Democratic Republic of Vietnam□” 171.

[7] Goscha□“Geneva 1954 and the ‘Deinternationalization’ of the Vietnamese Idea of Indochina□” □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□119□

[8] □□□□□□□Chen Jian□“China and the Indochina Settlement□” 258□

[9] □□2003□1□□□□□□Trinh Quang Thanh□□□□

[10] Paris to Washington□July 9□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

[11] □□□□□□1954□7□6□□Box 1□George Kahin Collection on the Origins of the Vietnam War□Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections□Cornell University Library□Editorial Note□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1803□William J.Duiker□*U.S.Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□188□

[12] □□□□□□1954□7□8□□Box 1□Kahin Collection□Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections□Cornell University□State to Paris□July 10□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1807-10□

[13] Jean Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□trans.George Holock□New York□Holmes & Meier□1984□□226-27□“Réunion des trois ministres des affaires étrangères□” July 13□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Washington to Paris□July 12□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□M.Roux□“Position américaine à Genève□” July 13□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

[14] Paris to FO□July 14□1954□PREM 11/646□TNA□□□□□□□□□□206□□□□□□□□1954□7□15□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□1834-40□

[15] Eden to FO□July 15□1954□FO 371/112078□TNA□James Cable□*the Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina*□London□Macmillan□1986□□116.

[16] Chester L.Cooper□*The Lost Crusade□America in Vietnam*□New York□Dodd□Mead□1970□□97.

[17] Eden to FO□for PM□□July 18□1954□FO 371/112079□TNA.

[18] 7□20□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□290-313□Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□234-39□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□120-23□Eric Roussel□*Pierre Mendès France*□Paris□Gallimard□2007□□chap.14□

[19] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□7□20□□□□□□No.206-Y0008□CFMA□□□□□□□

[20] □□□□□□□□Lacouture□*Pierre Mendès France*□237□

[21] □□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□1479□

[22] □□□□□□□□□□1954□8□2□□

[23] □□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Allan W.Cameron□ed.□*Viet-Nam Crisis□A Documentary History*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1971□□1□288-308□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□1954□7□19□□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□1500□

[25] □□David Schoenbrun□*As France Goes*□New York□Atheneum□1968□□122-23□

[26] Michel Bodin□*La France et ses soldats□Indochine□1945-1954*□Paris□Éditions L’Harmattan□1996□□7□Bodin□*Dictionnaire de la guerre d’Indochine□1945-1954*□Paris□Economica□2004□□214.

[27] Saigon to MAE□July 10□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Saigon to MAE□July 18□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

[28] □□Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□309□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Michel Bodin□“L’armée nationale du Vietnam à fin du conflit□1953-1954□□” in Pierre Journoud and HuguesTertrais□eds.□*1954-2004□La Bataille de Dien Bien Phu□entre histoire et mémoire*□Paris□Publications de la Société française d’histoire d’outre-mer□2004□□89-101□□□□□□800□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□8□23□□

[29] □□□□ George C.Herring□*America’s Longest War□The United States and Vietnam□1950-1975*□4th ed.□New York□McGraw-Hill□2002□□48□Duiker□*U.S.Containment*□183□

[30] □□□□7□13□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□1954□7□13□□□□□□No.206-Y0006□CFMA□□□□□□□

[31] Chester L.Cooper□*In the Shadows of History□Fifty Years Behind the Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy*□Amherst□N.Y.□Prometheus□2005□□126.

[32] □□□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□Gao Wenqian□□□□□□*Zhou Enlai□The Last Perfect Revolutionary□A Biography*□New York□Public Affairs□2009□□1949-1973□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□no.34□Washington□D.C.□Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars□2002□□6-11□

[33] □□Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam□A History*□New York□Viking□1983□□220□□□□□□□□2003□1□□□□□□Trinh Quang Thanh□□□□□□□□□□□□

[34] □□Geoffrey Warner□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Asselin□“Democratic Republic of Vietnam”□

[35] Dwight D.Eisenhower□*Mandate for Change□The White House Years□1953-1956*□Garden City□N.Y.□Doubleday□1963□□362.

[36] Mendès-France□“Entrevue Mendès-France-Chou En Lai à Berne□” June 23□1954□71-77□IPMF.

[37] □□□□□□□□□□□Cable□*Geneva Conference*□88□134□

[38] Anthony Eden□*Full Circle□The Memoirs of Anthony Eden*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1960□□144.

[39] □□□□□□□1954□7□21□□

[40] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*FRUS□1952-1954□The Geneva Conference*□XVI□1503.

[41] Cooper□*Lost Crusade*□99-100□Eisenhower-Dulles telcon□July 20□1954□Box 4□Diary Series□Eisenhower Library□

[42] □□□□□□□□□□□Devillers and Lacouture□*End of a War*□313□

[illegible] [illegible] 1954[illegible]1959[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]308[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Doc Lap[illegible]1954[illegible]10[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[1]

[illegible]·[illegible]1873[illegible]·[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□8□□□□□□□80□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[2]

1954□10□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□0.75□□10□17□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[3]□10□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□35□□□1945□9□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□9□□1946□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□5□□Luu Doan Huynh□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]“[illegible]1946[illegible]”[4]

[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]1946[illegible]1954[illegible]20[illegible]12.5[illegible][5][illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]17[illegible]1956[illegible]

[illegible]1956[illegible][6]10[illegible]16[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]18[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible][7]

[illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible][9]

[illegible]·[illegible]École français d’Extrême-Orient[illegible]1.5[illegible][10]

1954[illegible]12[illegible]16[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]1954[illegible]-[illegible]8[illegible]30[illegible]319[illegible]264[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]-[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]7[illegible]24[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[12][illegible]Southeast Asia Treaty Organization[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]9[illegible]8[illegible]1955[illegible]2[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□17□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[13]

□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[14]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□——□□□“□□□□”——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□6□25□□□□□□7□7□□□17□□[15]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□20□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□Can Lao□□[16]

□□·□□□Paul Harwood□□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

[illegible]“[illegible]”。[17]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][18][illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]9[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]

[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible][20]

[illegible]——[illegible]12[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Don Oberdorfer[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]”[illegible][22][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible]9[illegible]24[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]8[illegible]National Intelligence Estimate[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·E.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][24]

[illegible]*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*[illegible]·[illegible]Daniel Fitzpatrick[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][26]

1954[illegible]10[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28][illegible]

[illegible]-[illegible]10[illegible]23[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]

11[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30]

[illegible]1954[illegible]13.2[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]12[illegible]1955[illegible]1945[illegible]

[illegible]1949[illegible]1950[illegible]

[illegible]1953[illegible]1945[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[31]

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□Son Duong□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□……□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□‘□□□□□’□”[32]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□4□□□□□□□□□□□3000□1.5□□□[33]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Nguyen Thi Nam□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□1955□2□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□……□□□□□□□□”[34]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1956□8□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□——□□[35]

□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible][36][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][37]

[illegible]48[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Donovan[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]Huk[illegible]·[illegible]Ramon Magsaysay[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[39]

1954[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]17[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][40]

[illegible]10[illegible]11[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]14d[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]8[illegible]

[illegible]300[illegible]500[illegible]90[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Passage to Freedom[illegible]

17[illegible]17[illegible]1956[illegible]100[illegible]55%[illegible][42]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[44]

[illegible]

1954[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]J.[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]（Felix Stump[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][45][illegible]

□□□11□□□□□
□□1951□□
□□[46]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[47]

□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□“□□□□□□□□□”□Training Relations Instruction Mission□TRIM□□“□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□“□□□□□□”□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1955□1□1□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[48]

□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□12□□□[49]

[illegible]“[illegible]”1[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[50]

[illegible]1955[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[51]

[illegible]1[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Commercial Import Program[illegible]CIP[illegible][52]

1955[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53]

[illegible][54][illegible]1955[illegible]2[illegible]——[illegible]300[illegible]1200[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1951[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][55]

[illegible]——[illegible]4[illegible]1[illegible]Grande Monde[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]—[illegible]3[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][56]

[illegible]

3[illegible]28[illegible]

[illegible][57][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]3[illegible]31[illegible][58]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][59]

[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”C. L. [illegible]4[illegible]18[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][60]

[illegible]4[illegible]4[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]1955[illegible]4[illegible]27[illegible]6[illegible]10[illegible]6[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”。[61]

[illegible][62][illegible]11[illegible]56[illegible]500[illegible]2000[illegible]—[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]（Thomas Dodd）[illegible]“[illegible]”。[63]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’。”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[64]

[illegible]1955[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

5[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[65]

[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Paul Kattenburg[illegible]1954[illegible]1955[illegible]5[illegible][66]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[67]

[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]2[illegible]·[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

---

[1] [illegible]1954□10□18[illegible]Donald Lancaster□*The Emancipation of French Indochina*□London□Oxford University Press□1961□□359-67□

[2] [illegible]1954□10□11□□

[3] Jawaharlal Nehru□*Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru*□2nd.series□ ed.Ravinder Kumar and H.Y.Prasad□New York□Oxford University Press□2002□□27□21ff.

[4] Luu Doan Huynh[illegible]2003□1[illegible]

[5] [illegible]1945□1954[illegible]50[illegible]Stein Tønnesson□*Vietnam 1946□How the War Began*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2009□□1□and Michael Clodfelter□*Warfare and Armed Conflicts□A Statistical Reference to Casualty and Other Figures□1618-1991□vol.2□1900-1991*□Jefferson□N.C.□McFarland & Company□1992□□1122□

[6] *Lich Su Bien Nien Xu Uy Nam Bo va Trung Uong Cuc Mien Nam□1954-1975□* [illegible]1954-1975[illegible]Hanoi□National Political Publishing House□2002□□33-47□□Merle Pribbenow[illegible]

[7] Sainteny to Paris□October 21□1954□Dossier VII□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Marcel Duval□“L’Avenir des Intérêts Français en Indochine□” *France-Indochine*□December 1954□□236.

[8] Philippe Devillers and Jean Lacouture□*End of a War□Indochina□1954* □New York□Praeger□1969□□355□Pierre Grosser□"La France et l'Indochine□1953-1956□□Une'carte de visite' en 'peau de chagrin' □France and Indochina□1953-1956□□Visitor's Pass to the Land of Sorrow□□doctoral dissertation□Institut d'études politiques de Paris□September 2002□1253-54.

[9] MAE to Washington□August 13□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Claude Cheysson to PMF□"Note pour le Président□" August 12□1954□Dossier VII□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Baudet to MAE□August 13□1954□Indochine□vol.157□Asie□1944-1955□MAE.

[10] Duval□"L'Avenir des Intérêts Français en Indochine□" 239□"Projet d'instructions à M.Sainteny□" September 1954□Dossier VI□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Grosser□"La France et l'Indochine□" 1258.

[11] Note du Ministre des Etats Associés□September 30□1954□*Documents diplomatiques français□1954□21 juillet-31 décembre□*□489-92.□□Paul Ely□*L'Indochine dans la tourmente*□Paris□Plon□1964□□246-49□and Laurent Cesari□"The Declining Value of Indochina□France and the Economics of Empire□1950-1955□" in Mark Atwood Lawrence and Fredrik Logevall□eds.□*The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007□□193-94□

[12] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Department of State Bulletin*□August 2□1954□

[13] □□□□□□□George McTurnan Kahin□*Intervention□How America Became Involved in Vietnam*□New York□Alfred A.Knopf□1986□□75□

[14] □□□□□□□□"Review of U.S.Policy in the Far East□" August 1954□*Pentagon Papers.United States-Vietnam Relations□1945-1967□Study Prepared by the Department of Defense*□Washington□D.C.□Government Printing Office□1971□□10□731-41□

[15] Saigon to MAE□July 10□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.□□Frances FitzGerald□*Fire in the Lake□The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1972□□97□

[16] □□□□□□□□□□□□□Edward Miller□"Grand Designs□Vision□Power□and Nation Building in America's Alliance with Ngo Dinh Diem□1954-1960□" Ph.D.dissertation□Harvard University□2004□Jessica M.Chapman□"Debating the Will of Heaven□South Vietnamese Politics and Nationalism in International

Perspective□1953-56□" Ph.D.dissertation□University of California-Santa Barbara□2006□

[17] Thomas L.Ahearn□Jr.□*CIA and the House of Ngo□Covert Action in South Vietnam□1954-63*□Washington□D.C.□Center for the Study of Intelligence□Central Intelligence Agency□2000□□31.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□Thomas L.Ahearn□Jr.□*CIA and Rural Pacification in South Vietnam*□Washington□D.C.□Center for the Study of Intelligence□Central Intelligence Agency□2001□□2.

[18] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jayne Susan Werner□*Peasant Politics and Religious Sectarianism□Peasant and Priest in the Cao Dai in Viet Nam*□New Haven□Conn.□Yale University Southeast Asia Studies□1981□□Frances R.Hill□"Millenarian Machines in South Vietnam□" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 13□July 1971□□325-50□Hue-Tam Ho Tai□*Millenarianism and Peasant Politics in Vietnam*□Boston□Harvard University Press□1983□□Bernard B.Fall□"The Political-Religious Sects of Viet-Nam□" *Pacific Affairs* 28□September 1955□□235-53□

[19] Don Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield□The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat*□Washington□D.C.□Smithsonian□2003□□120-21.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Seth Jacobs□*America's Miracle Man in Vietnam□Ngo Dinh Diem□Religion□Race□and U.S.Intervention in Southeast Asia□1950-1957*□Durham□N.C.□Duke University Press□2005□□Chapman□"Debating the Will of Heaven"□Miller□"Grand Designs"□David L.Anderson□*Trapped by Success□The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam□1953-1961*□New York□Columbia University Press□1991□□

[20] □□·□□Washington□D.C.□Government Printing Office□1953□□14-15□

[21] Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□128□Memcon□Dulles and La Chambre□September 6□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□2007-10.

[22] Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□128.

[23] □□□□□□□□□□□1954□9□25□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□2069□

[24] George C.Herring□*America's Longest War□The United States and Vietnam□1950-1975*□4th ed.□New York□McGraw-Hill□2002□□57.

[25] Barbara W.Tuchman□*The March of Folly□From Troy to Vietnam*□New York□AlfredA.Knopf□1984□□270.

[26] Ronald H.Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S.Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□228-30.

[27] □□□□□Marvin E.Gettleman et al.□eds.□*Vietnam and America□A Documented History*□New York□Grove□1995□□113-14□

[28] □□□□□□□1954□10□25□□

[29] “Compte rendu de la conversation entre M.Mendès France□M.Dulles□et M.Eden□” October 23□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Memcon□Dulles and PMF□October 24□1954□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□2198-99□Grosser□“La France et l’Indochine□” 1282-85.

[30] □□□□□□Arthur Combs□“The Path Not Taken□The British Alternative to U.S.Policy in Vietnam□1954-1956□” *Diplomatic History* 19□Winter 1995□□51□□□□□□□□□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“Compte rendu de la conversation entre M.Mendès France□M.Dulles□et M.Eden□” November 18-19□1954□Dossier V□DPMF Indochine□IPMF.

[31] Edwin E.Moïse□“Land Reform and Land Reform Errors in North Vietnam□” *Pacific Affairs* 49□no.1□Spring 1976□□70-92□Moïse□*Land Reform in China and North Vietnam*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□1983□□178-268.□□Pierre Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh□A Biography*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2007□□152-60□

[32] □□Hy Van Luong□*Revolution in the Village□Tradition and Transformation in North Vietnam□1925-1988*□Honolulu□University of Hawaii Press□1992□□190□□□□□□□□□□□□Xuan Phuong and Danièle Mazingarbe□*Ao Dai□My War□My Country□My Vietnam*□Great Neck□N.Y.□EMQUAD□2004□□162-86□

[33] Moïse□“Land Reform and Errors in North Vietnam□” 73-78□Mark Philip Bradley□*Vietnam at War*□Oxford□U.K.□Oxford University Press□2009□□70.

[34] □□□□□□□Brocheux□*Ho Chi Minh*□158□

[35] William J.Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□486-88.

[36] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Kathryn C.Statler□*Replacing France□The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam*□Lexington□University Press of Kentucky□2007□□chap.4□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Pierre Grosser□“La France et l’Indochine□”1253-1342□

[37] Chester L.Cooper□*The Lost Crusade□America in Vietnam*□New York□Dodd□Mead□1970□□129.

[38] Stanley Karnow□*In Our Image□America’s Empire in the Philippines*□New York□Random House□1989□□15.

[39] □□□□□□□□Jonathan Nashel□*Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2005□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jonathan Nashel□□□□□□Rufus Phillips□*Why Vietnam Matters□An Eyewitness Account of Lessons Not Learned*□Annapolis□Md.□Naval Institute Press□2008□□□□Ahearn□*CIA and the House of Ngo*□Cecil B.Currey□*Edward Lansdale□The Unquiet American*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1988□□□□□□□□□□ Edward Lansdale□*In the Midst of Wars□An American’s Mission to Southeast Asia*□New York□Fordham University Press□1991□□□□□□□Nashel□*Landsdale’s Cold War*□1□

[40] Phillips□*Why Vietnam Matters*□14-15□J.Lawton Collins interview□1981□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault. wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□2010□11□18□□□

[41] Peter Schmid□“Free Indo-China Fights Against *Time*□” *Commentary*□January 1955□28□quoted in Cooper□*Lost Crusade*□136.

[42] Peter Hansen□“Bac Di Cu□Catholic Refugees from the North of Vietnam□and their Role in the Southern Republic□1954-59□” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 4□Fall 2009□□173-211.

[43] Nashel□*Lansdale’s Cold War*□60-61.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Cooper□*Lost Crusade*□130□

[44] Howard R.Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire□An American in Vietnam□1952-1991*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1992□□127.

[45] □□□□□□Spector□*Advice and Support*□231□

[46] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□J.Lawton Collins□*Lightning Joe□An Autobiography*□Baton Rouge□Louisiana State University Press□1979□□378□

[47] Ely to Paris□November 6□1954□Dossier VII□DPMF Indochine□IPMF□Paul Ely□*L’Indochine dans la tourmente*□Paris□Plon□1964□□168□Spector□*Advice and Support*□236-37□Collins interview□WGBH.□□□□□□□Ellen J.Hammer□*A Death in November□America in Vietnam□1963*□New York□Dutton□1987□□71□

[48] □□□□□Collins to Dulles□November 10□1954□Box 25□Collins Papers□Eisenhower Library□Collins to Dulles□November 13□1954□Box 25□Collins Papers□Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□132-33□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□C.Cheysson□“Opinion du General Ely sur le Viet-nam□” December 28□1954□Dossier IX□DPMF Indochine□IPDF□

[49] □□□□□□□□□□□1954□12□7□□*FRUS□1952-1954□Indochina*□XIII□2□2350-52□Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□133□

[50] Memo from Lansdale to Collins□January 3□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□3-4□Edward G.Lansdale interview□1979□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□2010□11□20□□□

[51] Memo from Collins to Dulles□January 20□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□56-57.

[52] □□CIP□□□□□□□□Kahin□*Intervention*□85-88.□□Anderson□*Trapped by Success*□155-57□

[53] Seth Jacobs□*Cold War Mandarin□Ngo Dinh Diem and the Origins of America’s War in Vietnam□1950-1963*□Lanham□Md.□Rowman & Littlefield□2006□□69.

[54] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jessica M.Chapman□“The Sect Crisis of 1955 and the American Decision for Diem□” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 5□Winter 2010□□37-85□□□□□Chapman□“Debating the Will of Heaven□” chap.3□

[55] Currey□*Edward Lansdale*□172-73.Lansdale□*In the Midst of Wars*□251□Collins to State□March 15□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□125.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Chargé in Vietnam□Kidder□to Department of State□February 8□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□79-80□Miller□“Grand Designs□”162-63□

[56] Chapman□“Sect Crisis□” 45-46.

[57] □□□□□Grosser□“La France et l’Indochine□” 1564□□□Ely to M.Laforest□April 6□1955□*Documents diplomatiques français*□hereafter *DDF*□□1955□Vol.1□

Document 178□410-14□Ely to M.Laforest□March 31□1955□*DDF*□Document 162□364-77□

[58] Collins to State□March 31□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□168-71□telcon□Eisenhower and Dulles□April 1□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□175-76□Mansfield□memo for files□April 1□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□176-77.

[59] Dulles to Collins□April 4□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□196-97□Oberdorfer□*Senator Mansfield*□135-36.□□□□□□□□□□Grosser□"La France et l'Indochine□" 1532□

[60] □□□□□□WGBH□□□□□□□□1955□4□18□□

[61] Dulles to Dillon□April 27□1955□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□297-98.

[62] Anderson□*Trapped by Success*□111-13□Ahearn□*CIA and Rural Pacification in South Vietnam*□12.

[63] □□□□□□□1955□4□30□□□□□□□□□□1955□5□2□□Jacobs□*Cold War Mandarin*□77□

[64] □□□□□1955□5□16□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1955□5□13□□□□Jacobs□*Cold War Mandarin*□77□Larry Berman□*Perfect Spy□The Incredible Double Life of Pham Xan An*□New York□Smithsonian Books□2007□□79.

[65] □□□□□□□1955□5□7□□

[66] George W.Allen□*None So Blind□A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam*□Chicago□Ivan R.Dee□2001□□84.□□Paul Kattenburg interview□1981□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//penvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□□2010□11□18□□□□□□□□□□□□*The Vietnam Trauma in American Foreign Policy□1945-1975*□New Brunswick□N.J.□Transaction□1980□□

[67] Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire*□152.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1955[illegible]5[illegible]

[illegible]1956[illegible]7[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1955[illegible][1][illegible]1946[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1956□4□10□[illegible]

[illegible]1955□5□20[illegible]1956□4□28[illegible]1956□4□10[illegible][2]

[illegible][3]

[illegible]1956[illegible]

[illegible]1955[illegible]7[illegible]20[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]14A[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[5]

[illegible]1956[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible][6]

[illegible]1955[illegible]

[illegible][7]

[illegible]

[illegible][8]

[illegible]1955[illegible]2[illegible]1[illegible]——30[illegible][9]

[illegible]8[illegible][10]

[illegible]9[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1956[illegible]1[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]1956[illegible]1957[illegible][12]

[illegible]1955[illegible]10[illegible]23[illegible]98.2%[illegible]60%[illegible]70%[illegible]605025[illegible][13]

[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][14]

[illegible]Republic of Vietnam[illegible]RVN[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Marguerite Higgins[illegible][15][illegible]personalism[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]Emmanuel Mounier[illegible]*Esprit*[illegible]École Nationale des Chartes[illegible][16]

[illegible]1955[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]

18[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][17]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[18]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible]·[illegible]Harold Oram[illegible]·O.[illegible]·F.[illegible]——[illegible][19][illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”——[illegible][20]

[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[21]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Jonathan Nashel[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][22]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1955[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]1955[illegible]12[illegible]3[illegible]1952[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]*The Power and the Glory*[illegible]”[illegible]*New Statesman*[illegible]·[illegible]Donat O’Donnell[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Conor Cruise O’Brien[illegible]·[illegible]Evelyn Waugh[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Nancy Spain[illegible]“[illegible]20[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]Norman Shrapnel[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible][23]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1952[illegible]A.J.[illegible]A. J. Liebling[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[24]

[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[25]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[26]

[illegible]·[illegible]Richard West[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1991[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]BBC[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][27][illegible]

[illegible][28]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible][29]

[illegible]

[illegible]1956[illegible]——[illegible]G.[illegible]·[illegible]G.Frederick Reinhardt[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[30]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]American Friends of Vietnam[illegible]AFV[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·F.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Karl Mundt[illegible]·[illegible]·M.[illegible]Arthur M. Schlesinger[illegible]Jr.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Norman Thomas[illegible]·[illegible]Whitelaw Reid[illegible]·[illegible]Walter Annenberg[illegible]·[illegible]Malcolm Muir[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]William Randolph Hearst[illegible]Jr.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible]20[illegible]·[illegible]Robert Herzstein[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1956[illegible]2[illegible]·J.[illegible]·W.[illegible]

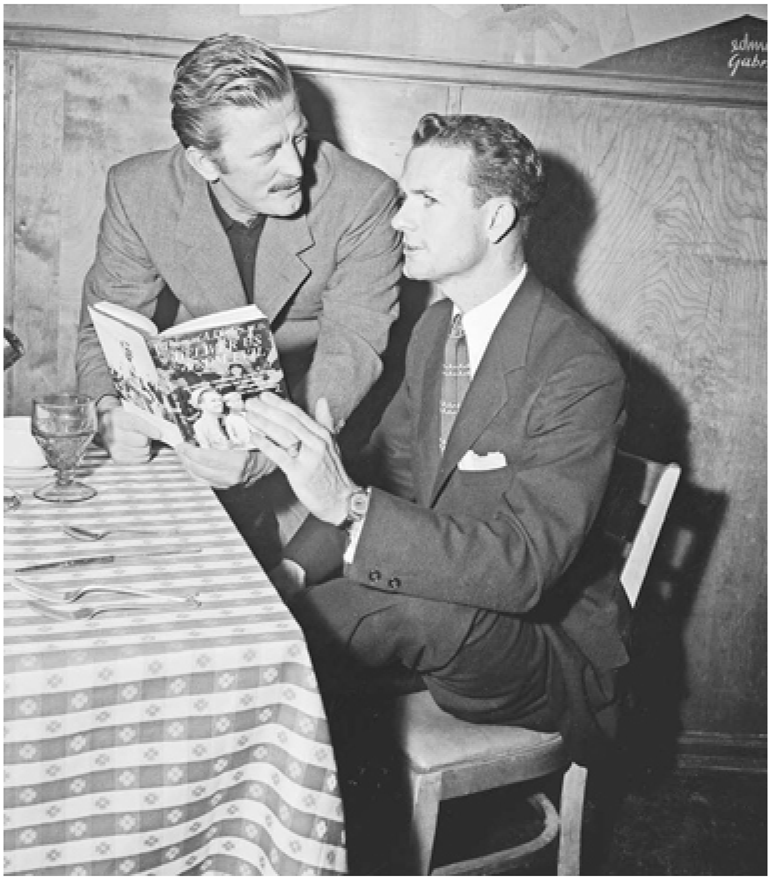
1956[illegible]6[illegible]1[illegible]Willard Hotel[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1951[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[33]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·J.[illegible]Hans J. Morgenthau[illegible]“[illegible]”[34]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]——1961[illegible]1[illegible]34[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·A.[illegible]Thomas A. Dooley[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]26[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][35]



1956[illegible]4[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Kirk Douglas[illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]William Lederer[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Deliver Us from Evil*[illegible]——[illegible]2000[illegible]——[illegible]1956[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]74[illegible]86[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][36]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Earl Warren[illegible]Cardinal Spellman[illegible][37]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]—[illegible]1956[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1991[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][38]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]Billy Graham[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]

1956[illegible]7[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1000[illegible]1956[illegible]3[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1954[illegible]1956[illegible]1960[illegible]78%[illegible]2%[illegible][39]

[illegible]·T.[illegible]Samuel T. Williams[illegible]ARVN[illegible]——“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1955[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]

[illegible]”[illegible][40]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][41][illegible]17[illegible]

> [illegible]1950[illegible]7000[illegible][42]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][43]

[illegible]342[illegible]692[illegible]8500[illegible]

[illegible]15[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]

[illegible]”1956[illegible]17[illegible]60[illegible][44]

[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible][45]

[illegible]1956[illegible]-[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] [illegible]Philippe Devillers[illegible]“The Struggle for the Unification of Vietnam[illegible]” *China Quarterly* 9[illegible]January-March 1962[illegible]8[illegible]

[2] Bernard B.Fall[illegible]*The Two Viet-Nams*[illegible]*A Political and Military Analysis*[illegible]New York[illegible]Praeger[illegible]1964[illegible]319-20.

[3] Chester L.Cooper*The Lost CrusadeAmerica in Vietnam*New YorkDoddMead1970148.

[4] O’Neill to Macmillan“Elections in Vietnam” November 11955FO 371/106778TNA.

[5] J.E.Cable“Elections in Vietnam” January 111955FO 371/117115TNA.

[6] U.S.Policy on All-Vietnam ElectionsNSC reportMay 171955*FRUS1955-1957Vietnam*I410-12.

[7] John Prados*VietnamThe History of an Unwinnable War1945-1975*LawrenceUniversity Press of Kansas200951.

[8] Mari Olsen*Soviet-Vietnam Relations and the Role of China1949-1964Changing Alliances*LondonRoutledge2006chap.4.

[9] Ilya V.Gaiduk*Confronting VietnamSoviet Policy Toward the Indochina Conflict1954-1963*StanfordCalif.Stanford University Press200361.

[10] Military History Institute of Vietnam*Victory in VietnamThe Official History of the People’s Army of Vietnam1954-1975*trans.Merle PribbenowLawrenceUniversity Press of Kansas200218.

[11] William J.Duiker*Ho Chi MinhA Life*New YorkHyperion2000474

[12] Seth Jacobs*Cold War MandarinNgo Dinh Diem and the Origins of America’s War in Vietnam1950-1963*LanhamMd.Rowman & Littlefield200689-90.

[13] Jessica M.Chapman“Staging DemocracySouth Vietnam’s 1955 Referendum to Depose Bao Dai” *Diplomatic History* 30no.4September 2006671-703.

[14] Cooper*Lost Crusade*151-52.

[15] Seth Jacobs*America’s Miracle Man in VietnamNgo Dinh DiemReligionRaceand U.S.Intervention in Southeast Asia1950-1957*DurhamN.C.Duke University Press200537.

[16] Edward Miller□“The Diplomacy of Personalism□Civilization□Culture□and the Cold War in the Foreign Policy of Ngo Dinh Diem□” in Christopher E.Goscha and Christian F.Ostermann□eds.□*Connecting Histories□Decolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia□1945-1962*□Washington□D.C.□Woodrow Wilson Center Press□2009□□376-402□Philip E.Catton□*Diem’s Final Failure□Prelude to America’s War in Vietnam*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2002□□44.

[17] Neil Sheehan□*A Bright Shining Lie□John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam*□New York□Random House□1988□□138.□□□□□·□□□□□□□1979□□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□□2010□11□22□□□□□□□□□□□□1954□1955□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Larry Berman□*Perfect Spy□The Incredible Double Life of Pham Xuan An*□New York□Smithsonian Books□2007□□70-81□

[18] Howard R.Simpson□*Tiger in the Barbed Wire□An American in Vietnam□1952-1991*□Washington□D.C.□Brassey’s□1992□□172.□□Frances FitzGerald□*Fire in the Lake□The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1972□□98□

[19] Joseph G.Morgan□*The Vietnam Lobby□The American Friends of Vietnam□1955-1975*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□1997□.

[20] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Michael E.Latham□*The Right Kind of Revolution□Modernization□Development□and U.S.Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□2011□□David Ekbladh□*The Great American Mission□Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□2009□□Nils Gilman□*Mandarins of the Future□Modernization Theory in Cold War America*□Baltimore□Johns Hopkins University Press□2004□□

[21] Jonathan Nashel□*Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2005□□54.

[22] Jonathan Nashel□*Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2005□□137.

[23] □□□□□□□□□□□□1955□12□9□□□□□□□□□□□□1955□12□6□□□□□□□□Norman Sherry□*The Life of Graham Greene□vol.2□1939-1955*□New York□Viking□1995□□472□

[24] A.J.Liebling“A Talkative Something-or-Other”1956471956 John Clark Prattedited.The Quiet AmericanText and CriticismNewYorkPenguin1996347-5519561 2

[25] Graham GreeneThe Quiet AmericanNew YorkViking1956156.

[26] Graham GreeneThe Quiet AmericanNew YorkViking195687.

[27] Richard West“Graham Greene and ‘The Quiet American’”1991516Stephen J.Whitfield“Limited EngagementThe Quiet American as History” Journal of American Studies 30 199665-86

[28] Pico Iyer“The Disquieting Resonance of ‘The Quiet American’” NPR All Things ConsideredApril 212008http//www.npr.org/templates/story/story.phpstoryId=895424612010117

[29] ·“Last Act in Indo-China”1954591954516

[30] David L.AndersonTrapped by SuccessThe Eisenhower Administrationand Vietnam1953-1961New YorkColumbia University Press1991133FitzGeraldFire in the Lake112-13

[31] JacobsCold War Mandarin102MorganVietnam Lobby.

[32] Robert E.HerzsteinHenry R.LuceTimeand the American Crusade in AsiaNew YorkCambridge University Press2005204-5.

[33] Pentagon Papers.United States-Vietnam Relations1945-1967Study Prepared by the Department of DefenseWashingtonD.C.Government Printing Office19712part IVA.5tab 131.JacobsAmerica’s Miracle Man241-45

[34] MorganVietnam Lobby41

[35] James T.FisherDr.AmericaThe Lives of Thomas A.Dooley1927-1961AmherstUniversity of Massachusetts Press1997

[36] James T.FisherDr.AmericaThe Lives of Thomas A.Dooley1927-1961 AmherstUniversity of Massachusetts Press1997chap.3JacobsAmerica’s Miracle Manchap.4WGBH

[37] JacobsCold War Mandarin49

[38] Jacobs，*Cold War Mandarin*，50.□□□□□·□□□□□Daniel Redmond□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Christian G.Appy，*Patriots：The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*（New York：Viking，2003），42-44。

[39] David L.Anderson，*Trapped by Success*，133.

[40] James R.Arnold，*The First Domino：Eisenhower，the Military，and America's Intervention in Vietnam*（New York：William Morrow，1991），306.

[41] □Ronald H.Spector，*Advice and Support：The Early Years of the U.S.Army in Vietnam，1941-1960*（Washington，D.C.：Center for Military History，1985），278-82。

[42] □□Spector，*Advice and Support*，274。

[43] □□Spector，*Advice and Support*，275-76.

[44] Defense Information Relating to the U.S.Aid Program in Vietnam，April 13，1956，in *FRUS，1955-1957，Vietnam*，I，673.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Robert K.Brigham，*ARVN：Life and Death in the South Vietnamese Army*（Lawrence：University Press of Kansas，2006）。

[45] Arnold，*First Domino*，318-19.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]1957[illegible]2[illegible]22[illegible]Ban Me Thuot[illegible]Do Van Cung[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……”[1]

[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

1957[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Russell Baker[illegible]“[illegible]”[2]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]100[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3][illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]*St. Petersburg Times*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Washington*[illegible]*Evening Star*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]*Saturday Evening Post*[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][4]

[illegible]“[illegible]‘per diem’[5][illegible]”[6]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]20[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]25[illegible][8][illegible]·[illegible]Robert Wagner[illegible]20[illegible]5[illegible]13[illegible]International Rescue Committee[illegible]IRC[illegible]·[illegible]·D.[illegible]John D. Rockefeller[illegible]·[illegible]·F.[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[9][illegible]·[illegible]Leo Cherne[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][10]

[illegible]5[illegible]19[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”1957[illegible]1[illegible]

[illegible]*Foreign Affairs*[illegible][11]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[12]

[illegible]——[illegible]Ngo Dinh Can[illegible]Ngo Dinh Thuc[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Elbridge Durbrow[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][13]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible][14]

[illegible]1500[illegible]Michigan State University Group[illegible]——[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible][15][illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·L.[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[16]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1957[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[17]

1958[illegible]1[illegible]22[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Playhouse Theater[illegible]·O.[illegible]

[illegible]J.[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]·[illegible]
1954[illegible]”[illegible]

> [illegible]
> ——[illegible][18]

[illegible]

[illegible]1957[illegible]80%[illegible][19][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][20]

[illegible]75%[illegible]80%[illegible]·E.[illegible]Philip E. Catton[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][21]

[illegible]·[illegible]Wolf Ladejinsky[illegible]100[illegible]15[illegible]10[illegible][22]

[illegible]Vietnam Bureau of Investigation[illegible]J.[illegible]·[illegible]J. Edgar Hoover[illegible]

[illegible]1957[illegible]7[illegible]17[illegible]Chau Doc[illegible]17[illegible]9[illegible]14[illegible]10[illegible]10[illegible]13[illegible]10[illegible]22[illegible]13[illegible][23]

[illegible][24][illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]1957[illegible]Dorothy[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1954[illegible][25]

[illegible]1957[illegible]6[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]François Sully[illegible]90%[illegible]452[illegible]

[illegible][26]

[illegible]“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”[illegible]

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”

“[illegible]”

[illegible][27]

[illegible]1957[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][28]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[29][illegible]

[illegible]1958[illegible]——[illegible]1957[illegible]10[illegible]1957[illegible]11[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][30][illegible]1958[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][31]

[illegible]Quang Nam[illegible]8[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][32]

[illegible]“[illegible]-[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]-[illegible]’[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]

□□□Robert Scigliano□□□□□□□□□□“□-□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□□□□□□□□□□‘□-□’□”[33]

□

□□——□□

□□□1954□□□□□□□□□□□□□1958□□——□□□□10□□□□□□□100□□□[34]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[35]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□Le Duan□□1956□□□17□□□□□□□□[36]

1958□□

[illegible]

[illegible]1959[illegible]1[illegible]

> [illegible][37]

[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[38]

[illegible]1959[illegible]3[illegible]559[illegible]759[illegible]1959[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][39]

[illegible]Tran Van Tra[illegible]1959[illegible]BBC[illegible]100[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]50[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]25[illegible]”[40]

[illegible]“[illegible]——[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[41]

[illegible]1960[illegible]National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][42][illegible]People’s Liberation Armed Forces[illegible]PLAF[illegible]Center Office for South Vietnam[illegible]COSVN[illegible][43]

[illegible]

[illegible]10/59[illegible]1959[illegible]5[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][44]

10/59[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]10/59[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[45]

[illegible]1959[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——5[illegible]1.5[illegible]50[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][46]

[illegible]·[illegible]David Elliott[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[47]

[illegible]1954[illegible]1959[illegible]90%[illegible]1959[illegible]Nguyen Thi Dinh[illegible][48][illegible]1938[illegible]1960[illegible]1[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][49]

“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]……[illegible]”[50]

[illegible]1959[illegible]1954[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]7[illegible]7[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]‘[illegible]’[illegible]”[51]

[illegible]1953[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][52][illegible]1959[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]Operations Coordinating Board[illegible]OCB[illegible]1959[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][53]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][54]

[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][55]

[illegible]-[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][56]

[illegible]1955[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]10[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]1954[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]1959[illegible]

[illegible]1959[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]1959[illegible]4[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[57]1960[illegible]2[illegible]4[illegible]200[illegible]1600[illegible]11[illegible]

[illegible]1960[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][58]

[illegible]

[illegible]1959[illegible]

7[illegible]8[illegible]32[illegible]7[illegible]44[illegible]·[illegible]Chester Ovnand[illegible]38[illegible]·[illegible]Dale Buis[illegible]

[illegible]100[illegible]
[illegible]·[illegible]Jeanne Crain[illegible]*The Tattered Dress*[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Howard Boston[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]Jack Hellet[illegible][59]

[illegible]NBC[illegible]“[illegible]‘[illegible]’”[illegible][60]

[illegible]8[illegible]·[illegible]6[illegible]4[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][61]

[illegible]1945[illegible]9[illegible]·[illegible]1954[illegible]5[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1E[illegible]“1959”[illegible][62]

[illegible][63]

[illegible]·[illegible]Stanley Karnow[illegible][64]

[illegible]1959[illegible]5.8[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]

---

[1] *Journal d'Extrême-Orient*[illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]5[illegible]Ha Minh Tri[illegible]*Lich Su Bien Nien Xu Uy Nam Bo va Trung Uong Cuc Mien Nam*[illegible]*1954-1975*[illegible]Historical Chronicle of the Cochin China Party Committee and theCentral Office for South Vietnam[illegible]1954-1975[illegible]Hanoi[illegible]National Political Publishing House[illegible]2002[illegible]134.[illegible]Merle Pribbenow[illegible]

[2] [illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]

[3] [illegible]Seth Jacobs[illegible]*America's Miracle Man in Vietnam*[illegible]*Ngo Dinh Diem*[illegible]*Religion*[illegible]*Race*[illegible]*and U.S.Intervention in Southeast Asia*[illegible]*1950-1957*[illegible]Durham[illegible]N.C.[illegible]Duke University Press[illegible]2005[illegible]254[illegible]

[4] [illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]7[illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]9[illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]6[illegible]Seth Jacobs[illegible]*Cold War Mandarin*[illegible]*Ngo Dinh Diem and the Origins of America's War in Vietnam*[illegible]*1950-1963*[illegible]Lanham[illegible]Md.[illegible]Rowman & Littlefield[illegible]2006[illegible]103[illegible]1957[illegible]5[illegible]8[illegible]"[illegible]"[illegible]James R.Arnold[illegible]*The First Domino*[illegible]*Eisenhower*[illegible]*the Military*[illegible]*and America's Intervention in Vietnam*[illegible]New York[illegible]William Morrow[illegible]1991[illegible]328[illegible]

[5] [illegible]per day[illegible]diem[illegible]

[6] [illegible]"Diem's Success Story[illegible]" *New Republic*[illegible]May 6[illegible]1957[illegible]

[7] “President’s Toast to Diem□” May 9□1957□Box 2□International Meeting Series□Diem Visit□Ann Whitman File□Eisenhower Library.

[8] □□□□□□□1957□5□14□□

[9] □□□□□□□□□□□□Seth Jacobs□*Cold War Mandarin*□103□

[10] Joseph G.Morgan□*The Vietnam Lobby□The American Friends of Vietnam□1955-1975*□Chapel Hill□University of North Carolina Press□1997□□51□Jacobs□*America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam*□259-60.

[11] Arnold□*First Domino*□324.

[12] John Osborne□“The Tough Miracle Man of Vietnam□” *Life*□May 13□1957.

[13] Durbrow to State□May 2□1957□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□787-88□Thomas L.Ahearn□Jr.□*CIA and the House of Ngo□Covert Action in South Vietnam□1954-63*□Washington□D.C.□Center for the Study of Intelligence□Central Intelligence Agency□2000□□chap.8.

[14] Gregory A.Olson□*Mansfield and Vietnam□A Study in Rhetorical Adaptation*□East Lansing□Michigan State University Press□1995□□76□Chester L.Cooper□*The Lost Crusade□America in Vietnam*□New York□Dodd□Mead□1970□□153.

[15] John Ernst□*Forging a Fateful Alliance□Michigan State University and the Vietnam War*□East Lansing□Michigan State University Press□1998□□James M.Carter□*Inventing Vietnam□The United States and State Building□1954-1968*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2008□□chap.3.

[16] Graham Greene□*Ways of Escape*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1980□□17□Graham Greene□*Yours□Etc.□Letters to the Press*□ed.Christopher Hawtree□New York□Viking□1989□□□□Graham Greene□*The Quiet American*□Viking Critical Edition□ed.John Clark Pratt□New York□Penguin□1996□□310-12.

[17] □□□□□□□□□□□1957□10□27□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□1957□10□28□□□□Pratt□ed.□*Quiet American*□307-9□

[18] “Statement of General John W.O’Daniel□Chairman of the American Friends of Vietnam□in Regard to the World Premiere of the Motion Picture ‘The Quiet American□’”□n.d.□□Douglas Pike Collection□Virtual Vietnam Archive□Texas Tech University□Lubbock.□□Morgan□*Vietnam Lobby*□52□

[19] Bernard B.Fall□“Danger Signs□” *Nation*□May 31□1958.

[20] Robert Scheer□*How the United States Got Involved in Vietnam*□Santa Barbara□Calif.□Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions□1965□□53.

[21] Philip E.Catton□*Diem’s Final Failure□Prelude to America’s War in Vietnam*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2002□□65.

[22] Robert L.Sansom□*The Economics of Insurgency in the Mekong Delta of Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□MIT Press□1970□□58□Robert Scigliano□*South Vietnam□Nation Under Stress*□Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1963□□121-22.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jeffrey Race□*War Comes to Long An□Revolutionary Conflict in a Vietnamese Province*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1972□□□□□□□□□□□□□ David A.Biggs□*Quagmire□Nation-Building and Nature in the Mekong Delta*□Seattle□University of Washington Press□2010□□158-61□

[23] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Mien Dong Nam Bo Khang Chien□1945-1975□□Tap II* □The Resistance War in Eastern Cochin China□1945-1975□□Volume 2□□Hanoi□People’s Army Publishing House□1993□□60-63□□Merle Pribbenow□□□

[24] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□David W.P.Elliott□*The Vietnamese War□Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975*□Armonk□N.Y.□M.E.Sharpe□2007□□chap.6□□□Ta Xuan Linh□“How Armed Struggle Began in South Vietnam□” *Vietnam Courier*□no.22□March 1974□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□*Lich Su Bien Nien Xu Uy Nam Bo va Trung Uong Cuc Mien Nam□1954-1975□* □Historical Chronicle of the Cochin China Party Committee and the Central Office for South Vietnam□1954-1975□□□Hanoi□National Political Publishing House□2002□□129-39□□Merle Pribbenow□□□

[25] Dorothy Fall□*Bernard Fall□Memories of a Soldier-Scholar*□Washington□D.C.□Potomac□2006□□109.

[26] □□□□1957□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“The Anatomy of Insurgency in Indochina□1946-64□” delivered on March 20□1964□at the Industrial College of the Armed Forces in Washington□D.C.A copy is in Box P-1□Series 1.5□“Papers and Reports by Dr.Fall□” Bernard Fall Collection□JFKL□

[27] Fall□*Bernard Fall*□122.

[28] Durbrow to State□December 5□1957□*FRUS□1955-1957□Vietnam*□I□869-84.

[29] □□David L.Anderson□*Trapped by Success□The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam□1953-1961*□New York□Columbia University Press□1991□□185-86.□□□□□□□□□□Thomas L.Ahearn□Jr.□*CIA and Rural Pacification in South Vietnam*□Washington□D.C.□Center for the Study of Intelligence□Central Intelligence Agency□2001□□21-22□27□

[30] □□□□□□□Odd Arne Westad□*Brothers in Arms□The Rise and Fall of the Sino-Soviet Alliance□1945-1963*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1998□□20□

[31] Eisenhower to Diem□May 23□1958□*FRUS□1958-1960□Vietnam*□I□39-40.

[32] □□Ronald H.Spector□*Advice and Support□The Early Years of the U.S.Army in Vietnam□1941-1960*□Washington□D.C.□Center for Military History□1985□□325□

[33] George McTurnan Kahin□*Intervention□How America Became Involved in Vietnam*□New York□Alfred A.Knopf□1986□□101□Scigliano□*South Vietnam*□158.

[34] Mari Olsen□*Soviet-Vietnam Relations and the Role of China□1949-1964□Changing Alliances*□London□Routledge□2006□□chap.5□*Cuoc Khang Chien Chong My Cuu Nuoc 1954-1975* □The Anti-U.S.War of National Salvation□1954-1975□□Hanoi□Quan doi Nhan den□1980□□35□□□·□□□□□□□1981□□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□□2010□11□18□□□

[35] *Mien Dong Nam Bo Khang Chien*□30-68.

[36] Carlyle A.Thayer□*War by Other Means□National Liberation and Revolution in Viet-Nam□1954-1960*□Sydney□Allen & Unwin□1989□□92□A.J.Langguth□*Our Vietnam□The War□1954-1975*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2000□□100.□□Christopher E.Goscha and Stein Tønnesson□“Le Duan and the Break with China□” in Priscilla Roberts□ed.□*Behind the Bamboo Curtain□China□Vietnam□and the World Beyond Asia*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□2006□□455-57□

[37] *Van Kien Dang□Toan Tap□20□1959* □Collected Party Documents□Volume 20□1959□□Hanoi□National Political Publishing House□2002□□2-55□□Merle Pribbenow□□□Military History Institute of Vietnam□*Victory in Vietnam□The Official History of the People’s Army of Vietnam□1954-1975*□trans.Merle Pribbenow□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2002□□49-50□

[38] William J.Duiker□*Sacred War□Nationalism and Revolution in a Divided Vietnam*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1995□□120-21□*Cuoc Khang Chien Chong My Cuu Nuoc1954-1975*□49-50□*Lich Su Bien Nien Xu Uy Nam Bo va Trung Uong Cuc Mien Nam*□179-84.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1959□1□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□15□□□□”□□ Thayer□*War by Other Means*□185.

[39] Military History Institute of Vietnam□*Victory in Vietnam*□51-53.

[40] Elliott□*Vietnamese War*□119.

[41] □□David Chanoff and Doan Van Toai□*Vietnam□A Portrait of Its People at War*□London□I.B.Tauris□1996□□151-53□□□William J.Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□517-18□

[42] *Cuoc Khang Chien Chong My Cuu Nuoc 1954-1975*□81□Mark Moyar□*Triumph Forsaken□The Vietnam War□1954-1965*□New York□Cambridge University Press□2006□□81-91.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Frances FitzGerald□*Fire in the Lake□The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam*□Boston□Little□Brown□1972□□chap.4□□□Robert K.Brigham□*Guerrilla Diplomacy□The NLF’s Foreign Relations and the Viet Nam War*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1999□□chap.1□Douglas Pike□*Viet Cong□The Organization and Techniques of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□MIT Press□1966□□Joseph J.Zasloff□*Political Motivation of the Viet Cong□The Vietminh Regroupees*□Santa Monica□Calif.□Rand Corporation□1975□□

[43] John Prados□*Vietnam□The History of an Unwinnable War□1945-1975*□Lawrence□University Press of Kansas□2009□□71□William S.Turley□*The Second Indochina War□A Short Political and Military History□1954-1975*□Boulder□Westview Press□1986□□44.

[44] Elliott□*Vietnamese War*□102-3□Kahin□*Intervention*□97-98□*The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decision making on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□252□Pham Thanh Gion interview□1981□WGBH Vietnam Collection□http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□2010□11□2□□□

[45] □□Elliott□*Vietnamese War*□103□

[46] *Pentagon Papers*□Gravel□1□312.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Catton□*Diem's Final Failure*□chap.3□Biggs□*Quagmire*□188-93□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Joseph J.Zasloff□"Rural Resettlement in Vietnam□The Agroville Program□" *Pacific Affairs* 35□1962-63□□

[47] Elliott□*Vietnamese War*□127□103.See also FitzGerald□*Fire in the Lake*□194-95□David Hunt□*Vietnam's Southern Revolution*□*From Peasant Insurrection to Total War*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2008□□chap.3.

[48] □□□□□□1981□□WGBH Vietnam Collection□ http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□2010□11□22□□□

[49] Mrs.Nguyen Thi Dinh□*No Other Road to Take*□translated by Mai V.Elliott□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell Southeast Asia Program Publications□1976□□Nguyen Thi Dinh interview□1981□WGBH Vietnam Collection□ http□//openvault.wgbh.org/catalog/org.wgbh.mla□Vietnam□□□□□□□2010□11□22□□□

[50] Dinh□*No Other Road*□69-70.

[51] Arnold□*First Domino*□342□□□□□□□1959□7□7□□□□Moyar□*Triumph Forsaken*□81□

[52] Bernard B.Fall□*The Two Viet-Nams*□*A Political and Military Analysis*□New York□Praeger□1964□□327-28.

[53] □□□□□□□□□1959□1□7□□Box 25□NSC 5809 Policy Paper Subseries□Eisenhower Library□

[54] Catton□*Diem's Final Failure*□48-50.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□FitzGerald□*Fire in the Lake*□109-11□

[55] □□□□□□Catton□*Diem's Final Failure*□29□

[56] □□□□□□James Fisher□"'A World Made Safe for Diversity'□The Vietnam Lobby and the Politics of Pluralism□1945-1963□" in Christian Appy□ed.□*Cold War Constructions*□*The Political Culture of United States Imperialism*□*1945-1966*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2000□□229□

[57] Ahearn□*CIA and Rural Pacification in South Vietnam*□31.□□□□□□□□□□Barbara W.Tuchman□*The March of Folly*□*From Troy to Vietnam*□New York□Alfred

A.Knopf□1984□□280□

[58] Spector□*Advice and Support*□371□William J.Duiker□*U.S.Containment Policy andthe Conflict in Indochina*□Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994□□241.□□Ahearn□*CIA and the House of Ngo*□136□

[59] □□□□□□□1959□7□20□□Spector□*Advice and Support*□329□*Mien Dong Nam Bo Khang Chien*□70-71□□□□□□□□□□□□1984□7□8□□□□□□□□□□2009□7□8□□

[60] □□□□□□□1984□7□9□□

[61] □□□□□□□1984□7□9□□

[62] Stanley Karnow□*Vietnam□A History*□New York□Viking□1983□□10-11.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“Ovnard”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□46□7E□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1957□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□·□□□□Harry Griffith Cramer□Jr.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1983□□□□□□□□□□□□□78□01E□□□□□□□□□□□1956□6□8□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·B.□□□□□Richard B.Fitzgibbon□Jr.□□□□□□□1999□□□□□□□□□□□□□□21□52E□

[63] Spector□*Advice and Support*□329.

[64] □□□□□□□1959□7□20□□Karnow□*Vietnam*□10-11.

[illegible] [illegible]

1961[illegible]1[illegible]20[illegible]43[illegible]·F.[illegible]35[illegible][1][illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]20[illegible]1961[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][2]

[illegible]

[illegible]1951[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][3]

□20□□50□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□1957□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□[4]□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□1961□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”[5]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1960□□□□□·□□1961□5□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□4000□□□□□□□□□1962□□MACV□Military Assistance Command Vietnam□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□MAAC□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·D.□□□□Paul D. Harkins□□

□□——□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Malcolm Browne□□1961□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□T-28□□

[illegible]”[6]

[illegible]·[illegible]Homer Bigart[illegible]1962[illegible]2[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·F.[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][7]

[illegible]——[illegible]1960[illegible]1962[illegible]1[illegible]·[illegible]Robert McNamara[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][8]

[illegible]1962[illegible]8000[illegible]1.1[illegible]1963[illegible]11[illegible]·[illegible]1.6[illegible]——[illegible]

1964[illegible]·B.[illegible]2.3[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible][9]

[illegible]

[illegible]·F.[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]——[illegible]……[illegible]”[10]

[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]·[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”1962[illegible]“[illegible]……[illegible]”[11]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1940[illegible]20[illegible]50[illegible]

[illegible]1948[illegible]1960[illegible]Malayan

National Liberation Army[illegible]MNLA[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]35:1[illegible]30[illegible]8000[illegible]-[illegible]1.5:1[illegible][12]

[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]·[illegible]*The Best and the Brightest*[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[13]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]1963[illegible]·[illegible]1964[illegible][14][illegible]1964[illegible]9[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[15]

[illegible]——[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]10[illegible]——[illegible]

[illegible]——[illegible]1945[illegible]1946[illegible]1950[illegible]1954[illegible]1961[illegible]1963[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1.1[illegible]——[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]1945[illegible]20[illegible][16]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]——[illegible]1953[illegible]1954[illegible]20[illegible]60[illegible]

[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][17]

[illegible]1963[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible][18]

[illegible]1964[illegible]1964[illegible]10[illegible]“[illegible]”[19]

[illegible]12[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]30[illegible]

1965[illegible]2[illegible]32[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]Operation Rolling Thunder[illegible]——[illegible]1968[illegible]10[illegible]3[illegible]8[illegible]

□□·□□□[20]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1919□6□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1945□□□1946□□1947□□□1954□□

“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□1946□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□”[21]

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□1965□3□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□——□□1958□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□10□□□□□□□□□□□□5□□□□□□□□□·□□□Charles Bohlen□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□[22]

□1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□□□□□·□□1961□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1946□1954□□□□*Street Without Joy*□*Indochina at War 1946-1954*□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□112□□□□□□68□□□□□□□□1965□9□24□□□□□□□□□□167□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□235□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□317□□□□□□□270□□□□□□”□1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□□[23]

□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Tacitus□□□□□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□——□□[24]

1967□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□[25]

□□1965□□□□18□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

---

[1] □□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□□□□□

[2] □□Barbara W.Tuchman□*The March of Folly*□*From Troy to Vietnam*□New York□Alfred A.Knopf□1984□□283□□□·□□□□1961□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□”Paul Kattenburg□*The Vietnam Trauma in American Foreign Policy*□*1945-75*□New Brunswick□N.J.□Transaction□1980□□101-2.

[3] Robert Dallek□*An Unfinished Life□John F.Kennedy□1917-1963*□Boston□Little□Brown□2003□□166-67□*The Pentagon Papers□The Defense Department History of Decisionmaking on Vietnam*□Senator Gravel edition□Boston□Beacon Press□1971□□1□72.

[4] □□Christopher Matthews□*Kennedy and Nixon□The Rivalry That Shaped Postwar America*□New York□Simon & Schuster□1996□□118□

[5] Arthur M.Schlesinger□Jr.□*A Thousand Days*□Boston□Little□Brown□1965□□505□547.

[6] Christian G.Appy□*Patriots□The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides*□New York□Viking□2003□□66-67.

[7] □□□□□□□1962□2□25□□□□□*Reporting Vietnam□Part 1□American Journalism 1959-1975*□New York□Library of America□1998□□11-17□

[8] Lorenz M.Lüthi□*The Sino-Soviet Split□Cold War in the Communist World*□Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□2008□□Sergey Radchenko□*Two Suns in theHeavens□The Sino-Soviet Struggle for Supremacy□1962-67*□Washington□D.C.□Woodrow Wilson Center Press□2009□. □□□□□□□□□□□□□□Seymour Topping□*Journey Between Two Chinas*□New York□Harper & Row□1972□□178□

[9] 1961□1965□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□David Halberstam□*The Best and the Brightest*□New York□Random House□1972□□Fredrik Logevall□*Choosing War□The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□1999□□David Kaiser□*American Tragedy□Kennedy□Johnson□and the Origins of the Vietnam War*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2000□□Gordon Goldstein□*Lessons in Disaster□McGeorge Bundy and the Path to War in Vietnam*□New York□Times Books□2008□□Andrew Preston□*The War Council□McGeorge Bundy□the NSC□and Vietnam*□Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2006□□

[10] □□□□□□□Michael E.Latham□*The Right Kind of Revolution□Modernization□Development□and U.S.Foreign Policy from the Cold War to the Present*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□2011□□136□

[11] □□□□□□□“Soldiers and the People□” August 30□1962□Box 7□#239□Lansdale Papers□Hoover Institution on War□Revolution□and Peace□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□“□□□□□”□□“□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□”□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□Jonathan

Nashel□*Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*□Amherst□University of Massachusetts Press□2005□□66.

[12] Richard Stubbs□*Hearts and Minds in Guerrilla Warfare□The Malayan Emergency□1948-1960*□Singapore□Oxford University Press□1989□□Susan L.Carruthers□*Winning Hearts and Minds□British Governments□the Media□and Colonial Counter-Insurgency□1944-1960*□Leicester□U.K.□Leicester University Press□1998□□Michael Osborne□*Strategic Hamlets in Vietnam*□Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1965□.

[13] David Halberstam□“The Americanization of Vietnam□” *Playboy*□January 1970□□□Nashel□*Edward Lansdale’s Cold War*□151□

[14] [illegible]Logevall□*Choosing War*□395-400□James G.Blight□Janet M.Lang□and David A.Welch□*Vietnam If Kennedy Had Lived□Virtual JFK*□Lanham□Md.□Rowman & Littlefield□2009[illegible]James Galbraith□“Exit Strategy□” *Boston Review*□January-February 2004□29-34□Gareth Porter□*Perils of Dominance□Imbalance of Power and the Road to War in Vietnam*□Berkeley□University of California Press□2005□□165-79□

[15] LBJ-Bundy telcon□September 8□1964□in Michael Beschloss□ed.□*Reaching for Glory□Lyndon Johnson’s Secret White House Tapes□1964-1965*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2001□□35-36□LBJ-Russell telcon□March 6□1965□Michael Beschloss□ed.□*Reaching for Glory□Lyndon Johnson’s Secret White House Tapes□1964-1965*□New York□Simon & Schuster□2001□□210-13.

[16] [illegible]1963□1965[illegible]Logevall□*Choosing War.*

[17] [illegible]Campbell Craig and Fredrik Logevall□*America’s Cold War□The Politics of Insecurity*□Cambridge□Mass.□Belknap Press/Harvard University Press□2009□□

[18] [illegible]William J.Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh□A Life*□New York□Hyperion□2000□□535□

[19] O.A.Westad□Chen Jian□Stein Tønnesson□Nguyen Vu Tung□and James G.Hershberg□eds.□“77 Conversations Between Chinese and Foreign Leaders on the Wars in Vietnam□” Cold War International History Project Working Paper□1998□pp.83-84.

[20] Duiker□*Ho Chi Minh*□548.

[21] David Schoenbrun□*As France Goes*□New York□Atheneum□1968□□232-35.

[22] Alain Peyrefitte□*C'était de Gaulle*□*La France reprend sa place dans la monde*□Paris□Fayard□1997□□501□Paris to State□May 5□1965□Box 171□National Security File□Country File□France□Lyndon Baines Johnson Library.□□□□□□□□□□□□□□ Pierre Journoud□*De Gaulle et le Vietnam*□*1945-1969*□Paris□Éditions Tallandier□2011□□chap.4□

[23] Bernard B.Fall□"The War in Vietnam□" *Current*□December 1965□□9-10.Emphasis in original.□□Christopher E.Goscha□"'Sorry About That...'□Bernard Fall□the Vietnam War□and the Impact of a French Intellectual in the U.S.□" in Christopher E.Goscha and Maurice Vaïsse□eds.□*La Guerre du Vietnam et l'Europe*□*1963-1973*□□Paris□LGDJ□2003□□363-82□

[24] □"9·11"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□David Kilcullen□*The Accidental Guerrilla*□*Fighting Small Wars in the Midst of a Big One*□New York□Oxford University Press□2009□□John A. Nagl□*Counterinsurgency Lessons from Malaya and Vietnam*□*Learning to Eat Soup with a Knife*□New York□Praeger□2002□□Gian P.Gentile□"A□Slightly□Better War□A Narrative and Its Defects□" *World Affairs*□Summer 2008□□Edward Luttwak□"Dead End□Counterinsurgency Warfare as Military Malpractice□" *Harper's*□February 2007□□*The U.S.Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*□Chicago□University of Chicago Press□2005□□□□Jeffrey Record□*Beating Goliath*□*Why Insurgencies Win*□Washington□D.C.□Potomac Books□2007□□and Andrew J.Bacevich□*Washington Rules*□*America's Path to Permanent War*□New York□Metropolitan□2010□□chap.5□

[25] □□David Halberstam□*Ho*□New York□McGraw-Hill□1987□□106□□□□□□□□□□□□Dorothy Fall□*Bernard Fall*□*Memories of a Soldier-Scholar*□Washington□D.C.□Potomac□2006□□1966□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□John K.Fairbank□□□□□□□□□□□"□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□"□□□□□□□1966□2□17□□

□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□10□□·□□□□Chris Goscha□□□·□□□□Jim Hershberg□□□·□□□Ken Moure□□

□□·□□□□□□·□□□Matthew Jones□□□□·□□□□Merle Pribbenow□□□□□·□□□□Priscilla Roberts□□□□·□□□Kevin Ruane□□□□·□□□

□□·□□□George Herring□□□·□□□Ben Weber□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□

□□·□□□George Fujii□□□□·□□□□Justin Granstein□□□□□·□□□Michael Mazza□□□·□□□Kim Quinney□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Samuel Hodges□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□
□□

　　□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□Joanna Ain□□□□□·□□□□□Richard Aldrich□□□□·□□□□Arthur Bergeron□□□□□·□□□□James Blight□□□□□·□□□□□Robert Brigham□□□□□·□□□□Jessica Chapman□□□□·□□□□□Jessy Chiorino□□□□□·□□□□Campbell Craig□□□□□·□□□□Craig Daigle□□□□□·□□□□□□□·□□□□William Duiker□□□□□·□□□□□□Daniel Ellsberg□□□□□·□□□Dorothy Fall□□□□·□□□Susan Ferber□□□□□□·□□□□Dominique Franche□□□□·□□□□Warren Frazier□□□□·□□□□□Marc Gilbert□□□□□·□□□□Pierre Grosser□□□□□·□□□□Robert Hanyok□□□□□□□Tsuyoshi Hasegawa□□□□□□·□□□□Pembroke Herbert□□□□·□□□□□Will Hitchcock□□□□□·□□□□Pierre Journoud□□□□□·□□□Audrey Kahin□□□□□·□□□□Walter LaFeber□□□□□·□□Janet Lang□□□□·□□John Lee□□□□·□□□□William Loomis□□□□□·□□□□Erez Manela□□□□□·□□□□□□Zachary Matusheski□□□□·□□Glenn May□□□□·□□□□Anne Mensior□□□□□·□□□□Edwin Moïse□□□□□□Lien-Hang Nguyen□□□□□·□□□□□Andrew Preston□□□□□□·□□□□Priscilla Roberts□□□□·□□□Kevin Ruane□□□□□·□□□Jennifer See□□□□·□□□□□Jack Talbott□□□□·□□□Keith Taylor□□□□·□□□□Martin Thomas□□□□□·□□□□Stein Tønnesson□□□□□□Trinh Quang Thanh□□□·□□□□□□Thuy Tranviet□□□□·□□□□□Hannah Stamler□□□□□·□□□□□Kathryn Statler□□□□□Vu Tuong□□□□□·□□□James Waite□□□□□·□□□Geoffrey Warner□□□□□·□□□□□□Kenneth Weisbrode□□□□·□□·□□□□□Odd Arne Westad□□□□·□□□□George Wickes□□□□·□□□□Mark Wilson□□□□□□·□□Emoretta Yang□□□□·□□John Young□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□Jon Persoff□□□□

[illegible]·[illegible]Don Larson[illegible]“Mapping Specialists”[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]Mark Lawrence[illegible]-[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Betty Sue Flowers[illegible]

[illegible]Leverhulme Trust[illegible]·[illegible]Matthew Jones[illegible]·[illegible]Tony Badger[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]David Ebershoff[illegible]·[illegible]Clare Swanson[illegible]·[illegible]Loren Noveck[illegible]·[illegible]Jason Epstein[illegible]·[illegible]Scott Moyers[illegible]·[illegible]John Hawkins[illegible]

[illegible]·[illegible]·[illegible]Nishi Dhupa[illegible]·[illegible]Elizabeth Edmondson[illegible]·[illegible]Heike Michelsen[illegible]·[illegible]“[illegible]”[illegible]

[illegible]Danyel[illegible]

[illegible]
[illegible]——[illegible]
[illegible]

□□□□

Although the literature on the period covered in this book pales in size next to that detailing the years of heavy U.S.military involvement（1961-73），interested readers can find numerous studies that shed light on key parts of the story—and that were exceptionally helpful to me. Here follows a selected list of English-language works I utilized. For additional published sources，please see the endnotes.

Ahearn，Thomas L.，Jr. *CIA and the House of Ngo：Covert Action in South Vietnam，1954-63*. Washington，D.C.：Center for the Study of Intelligence，Central Intelligence Agency，2000.

Allen，George W. *None So Blind：A Personal Account of the Intelligence Failure in Vietnam.* Chicago：Ivan R.Dee，2001.

Anderson，David L. *Trapped by Success：The Eisenhower Administration and Vietnam，1953-1961.* New York：Columbia University Press，1991.

Appy，Christian G. *Patriots：The Vietnam War Remembered from All Sides.* New York：Viking，2003.

Arnold, James R. *The First Domino: Eisenhower, the Military, and America's Intervention in Vietnam.* New York: William Morrow, 1991.

Asselin, Pierre. "The Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the 1954 Geneva Conference: A Revisionist Critique." *Cold War History* 11, 2 (May 2011).

Bartholomew-Feis, Dixee R. *The OSS and Ho Chi Minh: Unexpected Allies in the War Against Japan.* Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006.

Berman, Larry. *Perfect Spy: The Incredible Double Life of Pham Xuan An.* New York: Smithsonian Books, 2007.

Bidault, Georges. *Resistance: The Political Autobiography of Georges Bidault.* Translated by Marianne Sinclair. New York: Praeger, 1968.

Billings-Yun, Melanie. *Decision Against War: Eisenhower and Dienbienphu, 1954.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.

Bodard, Lucien. *The Quicksand War: Prelude to Vietnam.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1967.

Bradley, Mark Philip. *Imagining Vietnam and America: The Making of Postcolonial Vietnam, 1919-1950.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Brocheux，Pierre. *Ho Chi Minh：A Biography.* New York：Cambridge University Press，2007.

——and Daniel Hémery. *Indochina：An Ambiguous Colonization，1858-1954.* Translated by Ly Lan Dill-Klein et al. Berkeley：University of California Press，2009.

Bui Diem with David Chanoff. *In the Jaws of History.* Boston：Houghton Mifflin，1987.

Bui Tin. *Following Ho Chi Minh：The Memoirs of a North Vietnamese Colonel.* Honolulu：University of Hawaii Press，1995.

Buttinger，Joseph. *Vietnam：A Dragon Embattled.* 2 vols. New York：Praeger，1967.

Cable，James. *The Geneva Conference of 1954 on Indochina.* London：Macmillan，1986.

Catton，Philip E. *Diem's Final Failure：Prelude to America's War in Vietnam.* Lawrence：University Press of Kansas，2002.

Chen Jian. *Mao's China and the Cold War.* Chapel Hill：University of North Carolina Press，2001.

Cooper，Chester L. *In the Shadows of History：Fifty Years Behind the Scenes of Cold War Diplomacy.* Amherst，N.Y.：Prometheus，2005.

——. *The Lost Crusade□America in Vietnam.* New York□Dodd□Mead□1970.

Currey□Cecil B. *Victory at Any Cost□The Genius of Viet Nam’s Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap.* Dulles□Va.□Potomac□2005□

Dalloz□Jacques. *The War in Indo-China□1945-1954.* New York□Barnes & Noble□1990.

Davidson□Phillip B. *Vietnam at War□The History□1946-1975.* New York□Oxford University Press□1991.

Devillers□Philippe and Jean Lacouture. *End of a War□Indochina□1954.* New York□Praeger□1969.

Dreifort□John E. *Myopic Grandeur□The Ambivalence of French Foreign Policy toward the Far East□1919-1945.* Kent□Oh.□Kent State University Press□1991.

Duiker□William J. *Ho Chi Minh□A Life.* New York□Hyperion□2000.

——. *U.S.Containment Policy and the Conflict in Indochina.* Stanford□Calif.□Stanford University Press□1994.

Eden□Anthony. *Full Circle□The Memoirs of Anthony Eden.* Boston□Houghton Mifflin□1960.

Elliott□David W.P. *The Vietnamese War□Revolution and Social Change in the Mekong Delta□1930-1975.* Armonk□N.Y.□M.E.Sharpe□2007.

Elliott, Duong Van Mai. *The Sacred Willow: Four Generations in the Life of a Vietnamese Family.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Fall, Bernard B. *Hell in a Very Small Place: The Siege of Dien Bien Phu.* Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1966.

——, ed. *Ho Chi Minh on Revolution: Selected Writings 1920-1966.* New York: Praeger, 1967.

——. *Street Without Joy: Indochina at War 1946-1954.* Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 1961.

——. *The Two Viet-Nams: A Political and Military Analysis.* New York: Praeger, 1964.

Fall, Dorothy. *Bernard Fall: Memories of a Soldier-Scholar*. Washington, D.C.: Potomac, 2006.

FitzGerald, Frances. *Fire in the Lake: The Vietnamese and the Americans in Vietnam.* Boston: Little, Brown, 1972.

Gaiduk, Ilya V. *Confronting Vietnam: Soviet Policy Toward the Indochina Conflict, 1954-1963.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Gardner, Lloyd C. *Approaching Vietnam: From World War II Through Dienbienphu.* New York: W.W.Norton, 1989.

Goscha, Christopher E. “Courting Diplomatic Disaster: The Difficult Integration of Vietnam into the Internationalist

Communist Movement1945-1950.” *Journal of Vietnamese Studies* 1February 2006.

Goscha Christopher E. and Christian F.Ostermanneds. *Connecting HistoriesDecolonization and the Cold War in Southeast Asia1945-1962.* WashingtonD.C.Woodrow Wilson Center Press2009.

GreeneGraham. *The Quiet American.* New YorkViking1956.

——. *Ways of Escape.* New YorkSimon & Schuster1980.

HalberstamDavid. *The Best and the Brightest.* New YorkRandom House1972.

HammerEllen J. *The Struggle for Indochina1940-1955.* StanfordCalif.Stanford University Press1955.

HerringGeorge C. *America’s Longest WarThe United States and Vietnam1950-1975*4th ed.New YorkMcGraw-Hill2002.

——and Richard H.Immerman. “EisenhowerDullesand Dienbienphu‘The Day We Didn’t Go to War’Revisited.” *Journal of American History* 71September 1984.

HerzsteinRobert E. *Henry R.LuceTimeand the American Crusade in Asia.* New YorkCambridge University Press2005.

Hess，Gary. *The United States’Emergence as a Southeast Asian Power，1940-1950.* New York：Columbia University Press，1987.

Immerman，Richard. “Between the Unattainable and the Unacceptable：Eisenhower and Dienbienphu.” In *Reevaluating Eisenhower：American Foreign Policy in the 1950s*，edited by Richard A.Melanson and David Mayers. Urbana：University of Illinois Press，1987.

Jackson，Julian. *France：The Dark Years，1940-1944.* Oxford，U.K.：Oxford University Press，2001.

Jacobs，Seth. *America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam：Ngo Dinh Diem，Religion，Race，and U.S.Intervention in Southeast Asia，1950-1957.* Durham，N.C.：Duke University Press，2005.

Jennings，Eric. *Vichy in the Tropics：Pétain’s National Revolution in Madagascar，Guadeloupe，and Indochina，1940-1944.* Stanford，Calif.：Stanford University Press，2004.

Kahin，George McTurnan. *Intervention：How America Became Involved in Vietnam.* New York：Alfred A.Knopf，1986.

Kaplan，Lawrence S.，Denise Artaud，and Mark Rubin，eds. *Dien Bien Phu and the Crisis of Franco-American Relations，1954-1955.* Wilmington，Del.：Scholarly Resources，1990.

Karnow□Stanley. *Vietnam□A History*□2nd ed.New York□Penguin□1997.

Kattenburg□Paul. *The Vietnam Trauma in American Foreign Policy□1945-75.* New Brunswick□N.J.□Transaction□1980.

Kimball□Warren F. *The Juggler□Franklin Roosevelt as Wartime Statesman.* Princeton□N.J.□Princeton University Press□1991.

Lacouture□Jean. *Pierre Mendès France.* Translated by George Holock. New York□Holmes & Meier□1984.

LaFeber□Walter. “Roosevelt□Churchill□and Indochina□1942-1945.” *American Historical Review* 80□December 1975□.

Langguth□A.J. *Our Vietnam□The War□1954-1975.* New York□Simon & Schuster□2000.

Lawrence□Mark Atwood. *Assuming the Burden□Europe and the American Commitment to War in Vietnam.* Berkeley□University of California Press□2005.

——and Fredrik Logevall□eds. *The First Vietnam War□Colonial Conflict and Cold War Crisis.* Cambridge□Mass.□Harvard University Press□2007.

Logevall□Fredrik. *Choosing War□The Lost Chance for Peace and the Escalation of War in Vietnam.* Berkeley□

University of California Press, 1999.

Mann, Robert. *A Grand Delusion: America's Descent into Vietnam.* New York: Basic, 2001.

Marr, David G. *Vietnam 1945: The Quest for Power.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

——. *Vietnamese Anticolonialism, 1885-1925.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

McAlister, John T., Jr., and Paul Mus. *The Vietnamese and Their Revolution.* New York: Harper & Row, 1970.

Miller, Edward. "Vision, Power and Agency: The Ascent of Ngô Dình Diêm, 1945-54." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35 (October 2004).

Morgan, Ted. *Valley of Death: The Tragedy at Dien Bien Phu That Led America into the Vietnam War.* New York: Random House, 2010.

Moyar, Mark. *Triumph Forsaken: The Vietnam War, 1954-1965.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Nashel, Jonathan. *Edward Lansdale's Cold War.* Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005.

O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Indo-China War, 1945-1954.* London: Faber & Faber, 1964.

Oberdorfer□Don. *Senator Mansfield□The Extraordinary Life of a Great American Statesman and Diplomat.* Washington□D.C.□Smithsonian□2003.

Patti□Archimedes L.A. *Why Viet Nam□Prelude to America’s Albatross.* Berkeley□University of California Press□1981.

Porch□Douglas. *The French Foreign Legion□A Complete History of the Legendary Fighting Force.* New York□HarperCollins□1991.

Prados□John. *Operation Vulture.* New York□ibooks□2002.

Quinn-Judge□Sophie. *Ho Chi Minh□The Missing Years 1919-1941.* Berkeley□University of California Press□2003.

Rotter□Andrew J. *The Path to Vietnam□Origins of the American Commitment to Southeast Asia.* Ithaca□N.Y.□Cornell University Press□1987.

Roy□Jules. *The Battle of Dienbienphu.* Translated by Robert Baldick. New York□Harper & Row□1965.

Ruane□Kevin. “Anthony Eden□British Diplomacy□and the Origins of the Geneva Conference of 1954.” *Historical Journal* 37□1994□.

Sainteny□Jean. *Ho Chi Minh and His Vietnam□A Personal Memoir.* Chicago□Cowles□1972.

Schoenbrun，David. *As France Goes.* New York：Atheneum，1968.

Shaplen，Robert. *The Lost Revolution：The U.S.in Vietnam，1946-1966.* New York：Harper & Row，1966.

Sheehan，Neil. *A Bright Shining Lie：John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam.* New York：Random House，1988.

Sherry，Norman. *The Life of Graham Greene*，vol.2，*1939-1955.* New York：Viking，1995.

Shipway，Martin. *The Road to War：France and Vietnam，1944-1947.* Providence，R.I.：Berghahn，1996.

Shuckburgh，Evelyn. *Descent to Suez：Diaries，1951-1956.* New York：W.W.Norton，1987.

Simpson，Howard R. *Dien Bien Phu：The Epic Battle America Forgot.* Washington，D.C.：Brassey’s，1994.

——. *Tiger in the Barbed Wire：An American in Vietnam，1952-1991.* Washington，D.C.：Brassey’s，1992.

Spector，Ronald H. *Advice and Support：The Early Years of the U.S.Army in Vietnam，1941-1960.* Washington，D.C.：Center for Military History，1985.

——. *In the Ruins of Empire：The Japanese Surrender and the Battle for Postwar Asia.* New York：Random House，2007.

Statler, Kathryn C. *Replacing France: The Origins of American Intervention in Vietnam.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007.

Thayer, Carlyle. *War by Other Means: National Liberation and Revolution in Viet Nam, 1954-1960.* Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1989.

Thomas, Martin. *The French Empire at War, 1940-1945.* Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 2007.

Thorne, Christopher G. *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War Against Japan.* London: Hamish Hamilton, 1978.

Tønnesson, Stein. *The Vietnamese Revolution of 1945: Roosevelt, Ho Chi Minh and de Gaulle in a World at War.* London: Sage, 1991.

——. *Vietnam 1946: How the War Began.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009.

Vo Nguyen Giap. *Dien Bien Phu: Rendezvous with History.* Hanoi: Gioi, 2004.

——. *Memoirs of War: The Road to Dien Bien Phu.* Hanoi: Gioi, 2004.

——. *Unforgettable Days.* Hanoi: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1975.

Windrow□Martin□*The Last Valley□Dien Bien Phu and the French Defeat in Vietnam.* Cambridge□Mass.□Da Capo□2004.

Young□Marilyn B. *The Vietnam Wars□1945-1990.* New York□HarperCollins□1991.

Zinoman□Peter. *The Colonial Bastille□A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam□1862-1940.* Berkeley□University of California Press□2001.

□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

Acheson□Dean□xvi□42□185□217-20□337□429

aid to French Indochina and□231□233□300□316

Bao Dai government and□220□229□233

French colonial reforms and□287□334

French threat to negotiate with Viet Minh and□318

Red-baiters and□223-24

rivalry of interests in Indochina and□279□283

“rotten apple” metaphor□479

Adams□Sherman□471

Africa

Algerian war□631□650□703

colonial troops from□118□168-69□245□246□247□249□361

Free French in, 25-26

French colonialism in, 6, 25-26, 28, 55, 75, 220, 623

nationalism in, 3, 9, 13, 72

Agence France-Presse (AFP), 165

Alessandri, Gen. Marcel, 71, 245, 248

Algeria, 25, 59, 61, 623

Kennedy on war in, 703

war in, 631

Allen, Denis, 490

Alsop, Joseph, 213, 644

American Friends of Vietnam (AFV), 664-66

“America’s Stake in Vietnam” conference, 665, 667

Diem and, 677-78, 680

The Quiet American (film) and, 680-82

Anderson, Robert B., 468

André, Max, 141, 142

Annam (Trung Bo), *vii*, 7, 17, 68

famine (1944-45), 79-81

French control of, 152, 175

French in, 128, 131, 235

Indochinese Federation and, 142

Viet Minh in, 152, 190, 252

Annenberg, Walter, 664

Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN)

buildup by MAAG, 669-73

guerrilla warfare against, 706

insurgency and, 685, 694

morale problems, 672

officers of, 706

size of (1955), 672

sweep operations, condoned by the U.S., 694-95

U.S.advisors with, 698

U.S.bankrolling of, 671-72, 698-99

Arnoux, Louis, 77

Aron, Raymond, 580

Associated Press (AP), xii, 233, 280, 704

Associated States (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia), 229, 230, 233, 276, 284, 318, 345

France in control of, 370, 371

Geneva Conference and, 550, 559, 579

independence for, 353, 357, 370, 371-72, 376, 457, 478, 479, 485, 488, 494, 497, 564, 569

Indochina multilateral coalition and, 565

Jacquet as minister for, 358, 385

negotiations with Viet Minh and, 398, 402, 442

Nixon in (1953), 373-78, *374*

post-partition, 623

Reynaud as minister for, 353

Atlantic Charter, 48-50, 83, 106

August Revolution, 93-98, 134, 198

Aung San, 194

Auriol, Vincent, 211, 346, 372-73

Australia, 459

domino theory and, 475, 477, 505

Indochina multilateral coalition and, 469, 470, 471, 553, 565, 566

SEATO and, 624

support for political settlement in Indochina, 569-70, 571

Aymé, Gen. Georges, 70

Baker, Russell, 676

Bao Dai, Emperor of Vietnam, xvi, 72, 81, 200, 265, 277, 348, 765n 46

abdication (1945), 94-95, 199

Baie d’Along meetings, 204, 205

Bao Dai Solution and, 198-201, 204-6, 210-12, 300-301, 589, 742n 13

Diem and, 588-91, 620, 636, 643-44

Élysée Accords and, 210-12

French control and, 220, 231, 370, 495, 641, 643

French grant of independence to, 445

French Indochina War and, 235

Geneva Conference and, 550, 551, 562, 606

government of, 275-78, 281, 349, 562, 576; *see also* Buu Loc, Prince; Ngo Dinh Diem; Nguyen Van Tam;

international recognition for regime, 229-30

“National Congress” by (1953), 371-72

Nixon visit (1953), 374

ousted (1955), 655

post-partition and, 625, 626-27, 636

Revers report on, 236

“State of Vietnam” and, 562, 576, 587, 588, 594, 601, 602, 606, 610, 625

unpopularity of, 275-76, 290, 307, 341, 376, 440, 445, 483

U.S. and fortunes of, 588, 589

U.S.diplomatic assessments of, 212, 219

U.S.direct aid considered and French threats, 230-31, 278

U.S.support for, 220, 229, 233

Vietnamese national army for, 256, 258; *see also* Vietnamese National Army)

Barrelon, Pierre, 111

Baudouin, Paul, 32, 33

Bay Vien, 642, 645

Ben-Gurion, David, 142

Ben Tre, 298-99

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 426-31, 434-37, 436

Best and the Brightest, The (Halberstam), 708

Bevin, Ernest, 113

Bidault, Georges

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 436, 436, 437, 438

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, *401*

China and, 555-56

Dien Bien Phu and, 500, 546

Dulles and, 349, 357, 437, 487, 488, 496, 503

Eisenhower and *344*

Foreign Ministry and 181 201 318 342

Franco-American negotiations secret talks 568-69

Geneva Conference and 442 488-89 550-51 559-60 562-64 566 568-69 572 573 579-80

Ho Chi Minh and 139 164-65 362 398

Indochina policy and 158 318

Indochina war as his war 353 579-80

Laniel government and 353 362 398-99

MRP and leader of Provisional government 139 140-41 158 164-65

negotiations with Viet Minh and 399 434 442

outrage at Duncan article 362-63

request for U.S.air strikes and 476-77 495-99 500 501 505

Truman Indochina policy and 89 90

U.S.offers nuclear bombs 498-99

Bien Hoa

as American base 701
attack at xv 699-701
secret war and 704-5
Bigart Homer 705
Bigeard Maj. Marcel 322-23 512 531 544
Binh Xuyen criminal syndicate 371 626 627 634 642-43
"Battle of Saigon" 644-45
French aid to 643
Bluechel Capt. Herbert 116
Blum Léon 12 142 145 164 579
Bodard Lucien 209 280 746n 10
Boislambert Hettier de 74 142
Bollaert Émile 189 190 191 201 204 205-6 207 208 741n 1
Bonnet Henri 181 182 470 482 573
Bonsai Philip 592
Borodin Mikhail 228

Bourgeade, Paule, 422

Bowie, Robert, 574

Bradlee, Benjamin, 536

Brébisson, Col. Michel de, 561, 566, 567

sessions with Ha Van Lau, 566-67, 580

Britain, xiv, 565. *See also* Churchill, Winston; Eden, Anthony

Allied occupation of Vietnam and, 112-15

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 426-31, 434-36

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, 401

China and, 429-31, 433, 435, 555, 587

Cold War and, 315, 337, 502

Colombo conference, 489

colonies of, 46, 48, 53, 55-56, 58, 105 (*see also* India; Malaya)

decline of empire, xiii, 72

de Gaulle backed by, 61

diplomats in Vietnam□305

direct military intervention in French Indochina War and□470□474□475-76□481□483□484□504□505□506□592

dumping of Greece and Turkey□312

French Indochina War□negotiated settlement and□483

French Indochina War□refusal to internationalize□483-87□489-91□494□497□501-7

Geneva Accords and□631□653

Geneva Conference and□483□485□487□505□507□549-75□580-81

H-bomb debate□483□769n 4

Ho Chi Minh in□4□11

Indochina policy□52□64□182□342□483

intelligence agencies□107□302-3□315

Malayan Emergency and□707-8

partition of Vietnam and□521

SEATO and□624

South East Asia Command□SEAC□□63□68□88□90□117

spies in Vietnam, 302-3

support of French in Vietnam, 88, 100, 112-15, 118, 128, 195; *see also* Gracey, Maj. Gen. Douglas,

United Action in Indochina (Dulles-Eden negotiations), 469, 475, 477, 479, 481-509

World War II and, 23, 24, 26, 29, 31, 41

Brocheux, Pierre, 36

Brohon, Col. Raymond, 473

Browne, Malcolm, 704-5

Bruce, David, 219, 231, 300, 318

Bryant, Henry G., 92-93

Buford, Wallace, 529, 700, 774n 34

Bui Diem, 27-28, 99-100, 140

Buis, Maj. Dale, xv, 699-701

Burma, 194, 222, 581-83, 624

Communist threat to, 583

Sino-Burmese statement (1954), 595

Buttinger, Joseph, 76, 680

Buu Loc, Prince, 371, 445, 576, 588, 589, 591

Byrnes, James F., 87-88

Cabanier, Rear Adm. Georges, 385

Cable, James, 491

Cadogan, Alexander, 24, 56

Caffery, Jefferson, 186-87, 189

Cambodia, xv, xvi

  China and, 583, 778-79n 17

  French in, 5, 7, 75-76, 120, 560

  Geneva agreement reached and, 604-5

  Geneva Conference and, 566, 573, 581, 583, 584

  independence for, 567

  Indochinese Federation and, 142

  Khmer Issarak in, 560, 566, 582, 585

  March, Japanese, coup, 72, 76

  neutrality of, 595, 604, 624

  Nixon visit (1953), 374

U.S. support for puppet regime in, 229

Viet Minh and, 171, 582

Canada

International Control Commission and, 603, 605, 613, 652

as U.S. ally, 613

Can Lao Nhan Vi (Personalist Party), 626, 679, 683

Cao Dai (politico-religious sect), 110, 112, 131, 152, 199, 294, 305, 371, 789n 1

U.S. payoff of, 642

Carney, Adm. Robert B., 573

Carpentier, Gen. Marcel, 230, 231-32, 237, 245, 250, 252

“The Disaster of RC4,” 245-50, 247

recalled, 255

troop strength, 244-45

Casey, Richard, 570, 573, 610, 771n 46

Castries, Col. Christian Marie Ferdinand de la Croix de, 405-6

arrives at Dien Bien Phu, 405

capture of, 534

Dien Bien Phu and, 411, 419, 422, 425, 439, 442-44, 447, 449-50, 500, 512, 524-30, 532-34, 544-45

Catholics, 126

Catroux, Gen. Georges, 28-31, 50, 759n 4

Catton, Philip E., 682-83

Cédile, Jean, 112, 113, 116

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), 304, 305-7, 313, 315, 626-29, 784n 17

Civilian Air Transport (CAT), 428-29, 514, 524, 528, 529

complaints about “House of the Ngos,” 696-97

Diem and, 629, 634-48, *636*, 680, 686

disinformation campaign against North Vietnam, 638

gold and money trafficking in Indochina report, 348

involvement in Dien Bien Phu, 428-39

Lansdale and, 635, 635-38, 640, 643, 645, 657-59, 779n 20

nationalist groups and, 371

pessimistic war assessment by, 364

Saigon Military Mission (covert operation), 635

Chambre, Guy La, 579, 623

Diem and, 628, 630

partition of Vietnam and, 585-88

Chanson, Gen. Charles Marie, 288

Charton, Col. Pierre, 246-47, 247, 249, 250, 252

Chauvel, Jean, 31, 187, 498, 558, 566, 579, 580, 584, 594, 610

Geneva Accords and, 613

Indochina partition and, 585-88

Chen Geng, 242, 246, 252, 746n 24

Chennault, Claire L., 68, 84, 382

Cherne, Leo, 678

Cheysson, Claude, 566

Chiang Kai-shek, 17, 28, 57, 62-63, 74, 84, 88, 109, 128, 133, 194, 581

defeat of, 221-22, 223, 226

Roosevelt and, 53-54

Chicago Sun-Times, 661

China, 746n 24. *See also* Chiang Kai-shek, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai

advisors for Giap, 387-88, 393-94, 412, 413, 423, 424, 746n 24, 760n 24

Britain and, 429-31, 433, 435, 555, 587

Cairo Declaration and, 54

civil war in, 54, 62-63, 65, 133, 194, 206-7, 210

Cold War and, 226, 335

Communist Party in (CCP), 85, 221-22, 226, 228, 229, 242, 387, 435, 583, 598

Communist victory in, 206-7

DRV recognized by, 224, 226

Franco-Sino relations, 623

French army in, 71

French Indochina War and, 234-37, 242, 251-52, 273, 314-16, 321, 358, 387-88, 393-96, 412, 413, 423, 424, 440,

462, 746n 24, 760n 24

Geneva Accords and, 631

Geneva Conference and, 520, 521, 522-23, 549, 550, 555, 559, 581-83, 599-603, 603, 608-10, 778-79n 17

Ho Chi Minh and, 17, 77-78, 227, 321, 330, 397, 520, 653

Korean War and, 257, 273, 395

Mao Zedong and, 54, 206-7, 210

as market, 6

nationalist movement in, 9, 18

Nationalist Party of Sun Yat-sen, 9, 17, 18, 207

partition of Vietnam and, 522, 620 (*see also* Geneva Conference)

"peaceful coexistence" commitment, 395, 595, 608

People's Liberation Army (PLA), 227, 242

People's Republic of China (PRC) created, 221-22

Potsdam agreement and Vietnam occupation, 90-91, 99, 100, 108-10, 126, 129, 131, 151

Sino-Burmese statement (1954), 595

Sino-French negotiations over Vietnam, 120, 130, 132, 133

Sino-Soviet split, 704

Sino-Soviet treaty, 227-28, 483

Soviet Union and, 222, 226, 395-96

U.S. and, 28, 42, 53-54, 57, 108, 234

U.S. and Taiwan crisis, 631, 653

U.S.bombing of, threatened, 503

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam, prevention of and, 596-99

U.S.policy under Eisenhower, 429, 439, 458, 506, 596, 631

U.S.refusal to recognize “Red China,” 429, 439, 555

Viet Minh backed by, xi, xii, xvii, xix, 155, 226-27, 273 (*see also* French Indochina War)

Vietnam elections and, 653

Vietnam War (American War) and, 711

war with Japan and, 28, 40, 42

as world power, 57

Chinese Military Assistance Group (CMAG), 321, 413

Churchill, Winston, xiv, 49, 84, 432, 568

Allies in North Africa and, 51

Atlantic Charter, 48-49

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, *401*

British Empire and, 48, 50, 55

Cairo Declaration, 54

Cold War and, 315

de Gaulle and, 23, 26, 61

direct military intervention in French Indochina War and, 470, 474, 475-76, 481, 483, 484, 504, 505, 506, 592

Dulles and, 557, 775n 14

Eisenhower and, 474-76, 481, 483, 484, 508, 769n 42

French in Indochina and, 63, 342

Geneva Conference and, 603, 610-11

history of Second World War, 471

negotiations on Indochina and, 506

Placentia Bay meeting, 42, 48, 49

Roosevelt and, 42, 48, 53, 54-55

Seven Points and, 593-94, 780n 36

stroke suffered by, 399

Tehran summit, 54-55

U.S.China policy and, 429, 430

U.S.nuclear weapons and, 482-83

Yalta conference, 64-65

Clemenceau, Georges, 261

Clements, Earle, 467, 468

Clos, Max, 280

Cochin China (Nam Bo), *vii*, 7, 8. *See also* Republic of Cochin China

colons (French settlers) in, 118

Francophile anti-colonialists in, 17

French business interests in, 74, 154

French control of, 117-20, 131, 152, 154, 175, 191, 389, 445

French Indochina War in, 208-9, 245, 252

French supporters in, 110-11

French troops in, 130

ICP Committee of the South and, 112, 113

ICP uprising (1940), 34, 110

Japanese occupation and, 39, 40, 41

nationalist resistance, 118, 129

nationalists repressed in, 113-15, 114, 124

non-Viet Minh elements in, 110, 112, 131

OSS agents in, 116-17, 118

partisan army in, 153

political divisions vs. Viet Minh in, 110

religious sects in, 110, 112

as separate state, 129-30, 137, 141, 142, 154, 205, 206, 211

U.S.aid to “sect armies,” 305-7

Viet Minh in, 154, 235, 245, 252

Viet Minh-sponsored resistance, 129

Cogny, René, 374, 420

Dien Bien Phu and, 384, 385, 392, 403, 419, 421, 422, 452-53, 512, 514, 524-28, 533, 544

dislike of Navarre, 420, 496, 512, 545

French secret plans to withdraw from Dien Bien Phu and, 410-11

Cold War, xiii, xvi, 183, 188, 196, 212-13

Acheson and, 224

Britain and, 315, 337, 502

China and, 226, 315

Eisenhower administration and, 334, 342, 697

French Indochina War and, 185, 198-201, 211-13, 230, 258, 280, 282, 283, 339, 340, 342, 352, 364-66, 374, 493

internationalizing of French Indochina War and, 250, 347

Soviet-American relations and, 335, 337

U.S. and, 183, 188, 196, 213, 224, 315, 493

Viet Minh and, 234

Vietnam and, 653

Collins, Gen. Lawton “Lightning Joe”

AFV and, 681

Diem and, 640-41, 643-47

de Lattre and, 285, 285-86, 749n 51

as U.S.ambassador to South Vietnam, 638-41, 643-47

Collins, Joseph, 341

Comité français de la Libération (CFLN), 59

Communism/Communists. *See also* Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, Viet Minh

Acheson on nationalism and, 218-19

anti-colonialism of, 14

in Cambodia (Khmer Issarak), 560, 566, 582, 585

in China (CCP), 85, 221-22, 226-27, 228, 229, 242, 387, 435, 583, 598

domino theory, 222-23, 263, 301, 339, 341, 342, 345, 364, 458, 460, 468, 475, 477, 479, 495, 504, 505-6, 508, 755n 19

Fourth Plenum, Vietnam, 387

in France (PCF), 88, 128, 136, 142, 164, 180, 186, 194, 197, 225

Ho Chi Minh and, 13-16, 36, 78, 83, 139, 159, 196, 219, 220, 225, 227-29, 397, 462-63

in Laos (Pathet Lao), 413, 560, 566, 582, 585, 596, 601, 607-8, 704

in Malaya, 707-8, 755n 19

nationalism and, 219

Nehru on, 286-87

recognition of DVR and, 224-25, 234

Communism/Communists (*cont.*)

Third International (Comintern), 9, 14, 16, 17, 36

Trotskyite groups, Cochin, 110, 112, 131

Truman Doctrine and, 184

U.S. and fears of world domination by, 222, 334, 430 (*see also* domino theory)

U.S. and red-baiting, 223-24, 303, 334, 335, 430, 454

U.S.in Vietnam, objective to curtail expansion of, 624, 625, 651, 702, 707-11

U.S.opposition to, 143, 184-85, 212-13, 282, 297, 365-66, 429-31, 554, 587, 651, 663, 710-11 (*see also* Cold War)

Viet Minh and, 85, 151, 159, 185

Vietnamese Workers Party (VWP, or Lao Dong), 171, 387

Cooper, Chester L., 555, 608-9, 635, 775n 9

Coste-Floret, Paul, 181, 190, 201

“counterinsurgency” doctrine, xx, 670, 714, 795n 23

U.S.plan for (1960), 698-99

Cramer, Capt. Harry Griffith, Jr., 793n 61

Cutler, Robert, 347, 428, 466, 499

Dai Viet, 95, 128, 132, 151, 199, 259

Daladier, Édouard, 314, 372, 373, 398

Da Nang (Tourane), 586

harbor, 111

partition line of demarcation and, 604

Dannaud, Jean-Pierre, 308

Dao people, 77

d’Argenlieu, Adm. Georges Thierry, 120, 123-24, *125*, 131, 206

army of partisans formed by, 153

assault on Haiphong and, 154-56, 158, 738n 23

as the “Bloody Monk,” 163, 189

as cause of French Indochina War, 163-64, 180, 739n 35

de Gaulle and, 120, 123, 124, 131, 165, 734n 2

hard-line position, 139, 140, 165-66

Ho Chi Minh and, 134, 137

Pignon and, 155

press and, 165

replacement of, 189

sabotage of negotiations and, 136-37, 142, 164, 180

Davis, Kenneth S., 44-45

“Day We Didn’t Go to War, The” (Roberts), 467, 767n 25, 768n 26

Dèbes, Col. Pierre-Louis, 157

Decoux, Adm. Jean

education and youth facilities instituted by, 37-38

Indochinese Federation of, 37

Japanese takeover of Vietnam and, 67-70

persecution of Jews and, 38

as pro-Vichy governor-general in Hanoi, 31, 33, *37*, 50, 73, 78

Défourneaux, René, 86

de Gaulle, Charles, xvi

on American War in Vietnam, 713

Bidault and, 353

CFLN and, 59, 61

Churchill and, 23, 26

colonial Indochina and, 28, 31, 56, 58-59, 71-76, 91, 165

colonial troops and, 168-69

d'Argenlieu and, 120, 123, 124, 131, 165, 734n 2

EDC and, 312

Free French and, 24, 26, 31, 43, 45, 51, 52, 61, 73, 124, 165, 190

French control of Vietnam and, 118, 131

Indochina War and negotiated settlement, 434

instructions to Leclerc, 118

L'Appel du 18 *Juin*, 23-24, 29, 137, 723n 5

de Lattre and, 262, 291

letter from Bao Dai, 95

liberation of Paris and, 61-62, 62

Mendès France and, 579

Potsdam snub of, 90

as President of France, 62

resignation of office (1946), 130, 135, 136

Roosevelt and, 27, 44-45, 51, 52, 58, 59-60, 66

Salan and, 320

Truman and U.S.support, 102-4, 106

war with Japan and, 43, 59, 71

Dejean, Maurice, 374, 377, 425, 453

visit to Dien Bien Phu, 422

Deliver Us from Evil (Dooley), *667*, 667-68

Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV)

anti-colonialism of, xxi

armistice announced (July 21, 1954), 605

assault on Haiphong and, 156

Bao Dai Solution as threat to, 211-12

Communism and, 195-96, 220

Communist countries recognize (1950), 224-25, 226, 228

creation of, 96

Day River Battles (1951) and criticism of Giap, 273

Expressen interview with Ho Chi Minh and peace proposals, 397

flag of, 96, 617

Geneva Conference and, 519-23, 551, 554-55, 559-62, 566, 580, 581, 582-83, 595-96, 602, 604, 609-10

Giap's role in, 147, 149

"Gold Week" and money raising, 126-27

in Hanoi, 125-26, 130, 152

Ho Chi Minh address, 1953, , 397, 426

Ho Chi Minh’s first government, 96, 125, 153

international recognition sought, 187-88, 193-94, 197, 224-25

legitimacy of, xxii, 135

Mao’s three phase strategy and, 170-71

military commander in the south for, 152

National Assembly, 397

need for allies, xvii, 127, 143

partition and, 522, 606, 609, 617-19, *618*

propaganda against, 638, 666-69

rice shortage, 288

Soviet Union and China as “patrons,” 520

support for, 126, 127

U.S.as principal enemy, 427, 520

Viet Minh women in, 241

weapons and ammunition for, 127

women running for office in, 125

POST-PARTITION NORTH VIETNAM

allies, Soviet Union and China, xix, 688

authoritarian policies, 633

Central Office for South Vietnam (COSVN), 691

Chinese aid to, 653

as Communist state, 621

creation of North Vietnam, 620

economic challenges post-partition, 619-21, 631-34

Eighth Plenum, 654

elections for reunification and, 653, 654

exodus from, post-partition, 633, 637-38, 666-67

Fatherland Front, 654-55

food shortages, 619, 631-32

foreign nationals in, 620, 622

French institutions in, 622

Geneva Accords and, 630-31, 632, 654

land reform, executions, and brutality, 632-33

National Liberation Front (NLF) created, 691

Sainteny and French relations, 621-23

Soviet aid to, 632, 653

U.S.backing of South and, 654

war in the South and, 687-95, 791n 37

war in the South escalation (1963), 711-13

withdrawal of French troops, 631

Despuech, Jacques, 348

Devillers, Philippe, 198, 350

Dewey, Lt. Col. Peter A., 116-17, 700, 734n 52

Dewey, Thomas E., 281, 336

Diem, Ngo Dinh. *See* Ngo Dinh Diem

Dien Bien Phu, *vii*, *ix*, xv, 378, 381, 403-25, 445-53, 465-66, 510-19, 513, 524-34

alternative scenarios for, 543-46

base aéro-terrestre concept, 384

battle and siege of，445-53，*451*，465-66，473，510-19，*513*，*526*，772n 1

battle and siege of，final assault，524-34

Brébisson-Ha talks and，566

captured French and partisans at，539-42，*542*，774n 47

de Castries at，405-6，411，419，422，425，439，442-44，447，500，512，524-30，532-34，544-45

Catroux inquiry into，759n 4

Chinese advisors and，387-88，393-94，412，413，423，424

Chinese military aid，518

doctors and medical personnel，408，450-52，511，516-17

early signs of French troubles，403-4

ethnic minorities in region of，381，382，383-84

evacuation of（1952），382

French air support and，544

French and partisan casualties，403-4，406，446，450-52，542

French breakout plan (Operation Albatross), 527, 528, 532

French consensus on defending Laos and, 384

French confidence before battle, 442-44

French defeat, xiv, xxi, 534-36, 774n 41

French forces, size of, 418-19, 511, 512, 528

French garrison at, 323, 408, 439

French hopes for, 434, 442

French intelligence and, 418, 419, 446-47, 515, 524, 529-30

French intelligence leaks and, 391

French motives for occupation of, 382-84

French preparation of men and supplies, 418-19, 443

French request for U.S.planes and air support, 455-58, 466, 473-81, 494, 496, 500, 501, 771n 46, 771n 48

Dien Bien Phu (*cont.*)

French secret plans to withdraw, 410-11

French strongpoints, 405, 406, *407*, 411, 419, 420, 443, 446, 450, *451*, 466, 473, 524-25

French supply problems, 514, 525, 528

GCMA used at, 392

Geneva Conference, effect of, 439, 440, 501, 523, 562

Giap’s army, xvii-xviii, 391, 394, 404-5, 410, 411, 416-17, 419, 446, 448, 518, 530-31

Giap’s attack plan, 448, 500

Giap’s commando raids on airstrips supplying, 447-48

Giap’s delay in attack, 421-25, 426, 543

Giap’s *grignotage* tactic, 514-15

Giap’s headquarters for battle, 412-13

Giap’s operational plan and preparations of men/supplies, 411-20, 424-25, 447-49

Giap’s planning and strategy, 387-95, 448, 452, 465-66, 519

Giap’s problems during battle, 452

Giap’s supply problems, 417

Giap’s use of supply bicycles, 415, *416*

Giap’s weaponry, 446, 447

Graham Greene visits, 444

hardships of, 452, 510-11, 516

history of, 381-82

Ho Chi Minh and, 388, 389-90, 394, 412

Lai Chau evacuation and problems, 403-4, 405

napalm used by French, 453

Navarre and Cogny arrival (Jan. 25), 422

Navarre Christmas Eve visit, 408-10, *409*

Navarre’s reoccupation of, 377-78, 382-86

Navarre’s secret directive No.949 and, 392

Operation Castor (French plan), 385-86, *386*, 390, 420, 425, 543

Operation Condor and, 513-14, 518, 530

Operation Vulture and, xiv, 457-58, 460, 466, 473, 496, 499

opium and, 383, 759n 3

Pleven and Ely visit, 439

preview of Viet Minh’s techniques, 238

Rats of Nam Youm（deserters），512，546

Soviet weapons and，531

strategic importance，381，382，384

terrain and logistical problems，391-93

U.S.air strikes and supplies，427-29，448，464，*498*

U.S.assessments of，454

U.S.offers nuclear bombs，498-99，500

U.S.tanks at，408，450，544

Viet Minh casualties，446，450，452，515，542-43，774n 54

Viet Minh morale problems，515-16，517，518，519

Viet Minh surveillance of French at，408

visitors to French camp，443-44

World War I trench warfare compared to，514-15，545

World War Ⅱ and，71，382

wounded left behind，539，566

Dillon，C.Douglas，345，347，351，366，474，476-77，502

conditions for U.S.intervention and，564

Diem and, 591

Dulles and U.S.rejection of Geneva agreement, 599

Do Dai Phuoc, 237

Dodd, Thomas, 646

domino theory, 222-23, 263, 341, 342, 345, 364, 458, 460, 468, 475, 477, 479, 495, 504, 505-6, 755n 19

Indochina’s importance and, 301, 339, 502, 508

Donovan, William J., 665

Dooley, Thomas A., 666-69, *667*

Douglas, William O., 589, 658, 681

Duclos, Jacques, 197

Ducuroy, Maurice, 37-38

Duiker, William J., 17

Dulles, Allen, 454, 562, 763n 5

Dulles, John Foster, xxi, 335, 336-38, 341, 349, 368, 479, 558

anti-Communism of, 337, 430, 433, 438, 497, 551, 555

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 429, 437, 438, 764n 30

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, *401*, 433

Churchill dislike of, 557, 775n 14

Diem and, 630, 641, 644-45, 658, 664, 674-75

Dien Bien Phu and, 456, 457, 466-67, 500-501, 771n 46

Eden and, 483-87, 489-91, 501-4, 556-57, 601, 775-76n 17

French request for U.S.planes and air support and, 474

Geneva Accords and, 613

Geneva Accords and U.S.takeover of defending Indochina, 592-93

Geneva Conference and, 549, 550, 551, 554, 555-57, 558, 574, 599

Indochina coalition without Britain and, 565-66

Indochina policy and, 341, 368, 437, 438, 573, 574-75

letter to Dean Rusk, 565-66

Mansfield and, 628

Mansfield Report and, 369

meeting of April 3, 1954 and, 467-70, 768n 26

meeting of April 4, 1954 and, 471-72

negotiated settlement announcement, 570-71

Ngo Dinh Diem and, 590

nuclear weapons offered to France, 498-500

Paris meeting in lieu of returning to Geneva Conference, 600

partition of Vietnam and, 592

pre-Geneva working group and, 490-91, 495

“rebuild[Vietnam]from the foundations” comment, 574-75, 593

red China and, 435-36

replacement of Heath and, 639

SEATO and, 624-25

Seven Points, 593-94, 780n 36

South Vietnam visit (Feb. 1955), 641

summary of Eisenhower position on Vietnam, 340

traveling diplomacy of, 481, 769n 1

United Action, overseas trip and, 475, 480, 481-503

"United Action Speech," 461-63, 464, 478

U.S.aid to South Vietnamese army, 669

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam and, 459, 466-80, 495-97

Vietnam post-partition, American objective in, 624, 648

Zhou Enlai snubbed by, 555, 775n 8

Dumaine, Jacques, 139

Duncan, Dennis, 362-63

Dunn, James, 89

Duong Bach Mai, 181

Duong Thieu Chi, 80

Dupont d'Isigny, Paule, 244

Durbrow, Elbridge, 679-80

criticism of Diem, 686, 695

Durdin, Peggy, 280

Durdin, Tillman, 280, 293

Dutch colonialism, 5, 6, 41, 42, 46, 56, 57, 72, 105

Indonesian independence, 258

Java and, 182, 186

Dutch East Indies. *See* Indonesia

Eden, Anthony, xvi, 52, 53, 56, 113, 315, 337, 431-36, *436*

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 435-37, *436*

Bermuda summit (1953), 400, *401*, 432

Bidault and Britain’s refusal to aid Dien Bien Phu, 505

China and, 483, 484

Dulles and, 483-87, 489-91, 501-4, 555, 556, 557, 601, 775-76n 17

“Easter reversal” by, 489-91

Geneva Accords and, 613, 631

Geneva Conference and, 549, 550, 551, 555-58, 559, 562-64, 567-69, 572, 574-75, 580-81, 585

negotiations with Viet Minh and, 433-36

Radford and United Action, 506-7

SEATO and, 624

Seven Points and, 593-94, 780n 36

Smith and, 567-68

telegrams to Makins against military intervention in Indochina, 489-90

U.S.China policy and, 429, 430, 555, 556

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 61-62, 281, 291, 334-49

ad hoc working groups on Southeast Asia and, 428

analysis of his foreign policy, 697-98

Anglo-American relations and, 501, 508

anti-Communism and policy, 334-36, 339, 508

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, *401*

China policy, 429, 439, 458, 506, 581, 596, 601, 631

Cold War and, 334, 342, 697

Diem and, 630, 658, 674-78, *675*, 687, 697

domino theory and, 339, 458, 479, 495, 508

Dooley and, 668

Dulles and, 336-38, 769n 1 (*see also* Dulles, John Foster)

Franco-American ties and, 623, 634

French Indochina peace “on an honorable basis,” 567

French Indochina War aid boost, 366, 377, 389

French Indochina War and, xiv, 339, 340-49, 352, 354, 364-66, 373, 427

French leaders and, 342-43, *344*, 345-49, 352, 357, 364

Geneva Accords and, 600, 612-13, 623

Geneva Conference delegation and, 551-76

Eisenhower, Dwight D. (*cont.*)

“hidden-hand” political strategy, 334

Hungarian Revolution and, 673

Indochina policy (document NSC-177, NSC-5405), 427

Indochina policy, takeover of defense of, 592-93, 623-24, 629, 663-73

Indochina policy change, negotiated peace and, 572-73

Korean War and, 338-39, 346

Laos and, 703-4

de Lattre and, 281, 339, 346

Letourneau Plan and, 343-44

letter to Churchill (1954), 474-76, 483, 484

Mansfield Report and, 369-70, 758n 35

military strength and commitments (1954), 508

negotiations with Viet Minh opposed by, 339, 355, 399, 402, 427, 429, 520

nuclear weapons and, 499

Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), 695

reports from Saigon, pessimism of, 340-41, 364

Republicans and split response to United Action, 553-54

Seven Points and, 593-94, 600-601, 780n 36

Special Committee on Indochina, 428, 763n 5

Sputnik and Soviet concerns, 686-87

State of the Union Speech, 341

Suez Crisis and, 673

"Titoist" solution for Vietnam and, 647

United Action or multilateral coalition in Indochina and, 475, 480, 481-503, 552, 553, 557

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam and, 428, 429, 454-80, 481-509, 563-66, 568-69, 709, 767n 23, 768n 33, 769n 42

Vietnam as pro-Western, priority of, 591, 630, 644-48, 652-53, 658, 697-98

Vietnam elections and, 610

Vietnam-U.S.military involvement escalation, 1959, , 698-99

Elliott, David, 693, 721n 12

Elliott, , Duong Van, Mai, 109, 161-62, 331

Ellsberg, Daniel, xx

Ely, Gen. Paul, 496

Collins and, 639

diary of and U.S.nuclear offer, 498-99

Diem and, 639-40, 643, 645

Dien Bien Phu and, 500

partition of Vietnam and, 585-88

Radford and U.S.aid in Dien Bien Phu, 453, 454-59, 473, 474, 476

report on dire situation in Indochina (1954), 571

visit to Dien Bien Phu, 439

Élysée Accords, 210-12, 220

End of the Affair, The (Greene), 296

Erskine, Gen. Graves B., 257

Esprit journal, 656

European Defense Community (EDC), 311-12, 342, 349, 353, 400, 437, 487, 505, 520, 623

Expressen interview with Ho Chi Minh, 396-99

Fall, Bernard, 131, 250, 358-60, *359*, 545

comparison of French and Americans in Vietnam, 713-15, 795n 24

death of, 714

South Vietnam and, 684-86, 694, 790n 25

Faure, Edgar, 349, 353, 648

Fenn, Charles, 82, 83-84, 99, 105-6

Fishel, Wesley, 589, 658, 664, 680

Fitzgibbon, T-Sgt. Richard B., Jr., 793n 61

Fitzpatrick, Daniel, 629

Fleet, Robert, 169

Fontainebleau conference, 139-40, 141, 146, 163, 165, 205, 320, 560

Foreign Affairs magazine, 679

Foster, John Watson, 336

France, xxi

Algerian war, 631, 650

Anglo-U.S. “summit” (June 26, 1954), 593-94

anti-Americanism in, 373, 398

anti-colonial nationalists in, 11-16

Bao Dai Solution and, 198-201, 204-6, 210-12, 300-301, 589, 742n 13

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 426-29, 434-36

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, *401*

Bidault as leader, 139, 140-41, 158, 164-65

Blum as premier, 160

British support for Southeast Asian empire, 88, 100, 112-15, 128

Catholic party (MRP), 136, 139, 140, 164-65, 180, 181, 220

cause of Henri Martin, 372-73

CFLN and, 59, 61

China and, 623

colonial Indochina and, 3, 5-9, 25, 27-34, 52, 55, 71-76, 164-65

Colonial Ministry name change, 135-36

colonial North Africa and, 51, 52, 75, 220, 314, 623, 650

Communist Party (PCF), xvii, 13-16, 88, 128, 136, 142, 155, 164, 180, 186, 194, 197, 225

cost of EDC and Indochina War (1952), 312, 316

decline as world power, 487, 771n 46

decline of empire, xiii-xiv, xxi, 72, 105, 136, 145, 220

Deuxième Bureau (military intelligence), 107

devaluation of the piaster, 347-49, 370

EDC and, 349, 353, 400, 437, 487, 520, 623

Eisenhower administration and, 342-43, *344*, 345-49, 354

Élysée Accords, 210-12, 220

empire of, 24-26, 46, 90, 145, 179-80, 193 (*see also specific colonies*)

Expressen interview with Ho Chi Minh and peace proposals, 396-99, 402

Faure government, 648

Franco-Viet Minh talks, 112, 116, 117, 124-26, 137-46, *138*

Geneva Accords and, 621, 622-23, 649, 651-52, 653

Geneva Conference and, 440, 442, 459, 487, 549-76

Ho Chi Minh in, xxi, 3-4, 10-16, 137-46, 722n 17

Indochina declaration (1944), 75-76

Indochina independence and, 353, 357, 370, 376, 488, 494, 497

Indochina policy, hard-line, xviii, 9, 164-66, 180-81, 201, 207

Indochina policy change (1946), 136

Indochina War, armistice, 605

Indochina War, anti-Communist struggle and, 185, 198-201, 211-13, 230, 258, 341, 365-66, 374

Indochina War, cost estimation (1952), 312

Indochina War, defeat at Dien Bien Phu, 534-36, 563

Indochina War, negotiated settlement, 255, 313, 314, 318-19, 343, 349, 351-52, 354, 372, 376, 383, 398-99, 401-2, 597 (*see also* Geneva Conference)

Indochina War, public opinion, xxi, 349-50, 354, 357, 402, 519, 546, 756n 32

Indochina War, threats of withdrawal from, 311-14, 346, 357, 372, 497, 500, 503

Indochina War effort (1950), 253-56

Indochina War opposition, 254-55, 318

Korean War armistice and, 357, 358, 359

Laniel government, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 366, 437, 438, 459, 473, 488, 504-5, 563

L'Appel du 18 Juin, 23-24, 29

media coverage of Indochina, 165, 253-54

Mendès France government, 575-76, 579, 597, 611-12

Ministry of Overseas France, 74, 136, 142, 164, 170, 180, 181, 212

nationalist movements in empire of, 179-80 (*see also* nationalism and nationalist movements)

in North Vietnam, 617-23, 622

partition of Vietnam and, 566, 571-72, 585, 601, 604, 605, *606*, 617-18, 631

postwar colonial goals, xvi-xvii, 73-76, 104, 194

postwar policy, 60

Radical Party, 220, 313, 350, 579

rightward drift of politics, 253

Roosevelt and, 27, 31, 44, 50, 58, 66, 710

SEATO and, 624

Sino-French negotiations over Vietnam, 120, 130, 132, 133

Socialist/Communist allies of Ho in, 12-16, *13*, 142, 145, 197

Socialist Party in (SFIO), 12-13, *13*, 15, 130, 136, 142, 160, 164, 180-81, 220, 316, 398

in South Vietnam, 627, 647-48

Truman and U.S.support, 102-4, 106, 159, 709

United Action in Indochina and, 479, 481, 487-89, 496

U.S.as rival in Vietnam and, 156, 182, 278-79, 308-9, 310, 749n 36

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam and, 454-509, 568-69

U.S.opposition to Franco-Viet Minh negotiations, 316-19, 339

U.S.postwar support, 89, 186-87, 623

U.S.support for Bao Dai Solution, 212-13, 230

U.S.support for French Indochina War, xi, xiii, xvii, xxi, 219, 224, 230-33, 232, 256, 300, 308, 311-12, 346-47, 365-66, 377

France (*cont.*)

Vietnamese national army created, 257, 258

Vietnam return (1945), 100, 107

World War II, xvi, 23-34, 61, *62*, 118, 723-24n 8, 724n 13 (*see also* de Gaulle, Charles; Pétain, Marshal Philippe)

World War II, Free French, 24, 25-26, 31, 38, 43, 44-45, 51, 52, 61, 63, 73, 75, 124, 165, 190, 260, 261

France-Soir, 280, 492

France-Vietnam Association, 138-39

Franck, Harry, 93

Franco-Viet Minh negotiations, 112, 116, 117, 124-26, 137-46, *138*. *See also* Geneva Conference (1954)

bilateral talks and, 318, 350, 397, 398, 399, 402, 426, 440, 566, 567, 578

Britain and, 433-36

call for, by PCF, 180

China’s role in, 395-96, 521

direct negotiations with Ho Chi Minh called for (1953), 350, 357, 372, 398

Expressen interview with Ho Chi Minh and peace proposals, 396-99

Fontainebleau conference, 139-40, 141, 146, 163, 165, 205, 320, 560

French assault on Haiphong and violation of, 157

French call for diplomatic solution (1952), 313, 315-16, 318-19

French call for diplomatic solution (1954), 434

French call for honorable settlement (1953), 343, 351-52, 355, 376, 398

French military successes and position of strength in, 343, 355, 383, 401-2, 442

Ho Chi Minh and Mus, 189-92

March 6 Accords, 133-34, 135, 159-60, 736n 19

Modus Vivendi between Ho and Moutet, 144-45, 151, 154

partition and French withdrawal, 521-22

Soviet Union’s role in, 521

Truman’s opposition to, 316-19

U.S. and, 185-86

U.S.opposition to, 339, 355, 399, 402, 427, 429, 520

war in Korea and, 313

French Colonialism on Trial (Ho Chi Minh), 51, 148

French Expeditionary Corps, xxi, 242, 255, 256, 260, 306, 324, 346, 372, 373, 393, 440, 551, 561

Carpentier as commander, 230, 231-32

casualties, 207-8, 210, 245, 249, 324, 325, 354, 386

Dien Bien Phu and, *386*

“The Disaster of RC4” (Cao Bang), 245-50, *247*, 261

French nationals in, 169

de Lattre as commander, 260-67, 273-89

Leclerc and, 91, 137

military success of, 167, 178, 179, 617, 639

Navarre as commander, 354

“paras,” 246, 322-23, *346*, 386, *386*, *498*, 532

partition and French withdrawal, 617

size of (1947-1948), 207

superiority in equipment, 245

troop strength, 244

Valluy as commander, 167-70, 207, 561

Vietnamese in, 211

French Foreign Legion

casualties, 207, 208, 247, 248, 277, 354, 446, 451, 540, 541, 607

at Dien Bien Phu, 409, 446, 450, 451, 510, 525, 530, 531, 534, 540

Dong Khe offensive and, 246, 247, 248

as French forces in Vietnam, 160, 169, 178, 192, 207, 209, 244, 267, 295, 298, 325, 408, 418-19, 421, 650, 707

supply shortages, 325

French Indochina. *See* Indochina French Indochina War (Franco-Viet Minh War), xv, xxi, 167-88, 238-59, 720n 10. *See also* Dien Bien Phu, Geneva Conference (1954)

anti-French animus and, 175-76, 179, 185

anti-personnel bombs used by French, 414

armistice announced (July 21, 1954), 605

assassination of Bazin and, 235-36

Battle of Hanoi (1946), 161-63, *162*, 171

beginning of, 115, 163

Border Campaign (1950), 243-52, 259

Carpentier as French commander, 230-31, 245-50, 252, 255

Chinese advisors, 387-88, 393-94, 423, 424

Chinese troops, training, and munitions in, 235, 239, 242, 243, 251-52, 314-16, 321, 358, 388, 440, 462, 474, 483, 518

as Cold War struggle, 185, 198-201, 211-13, 230, 258, 280, 282, 283, 339, 340, 342, 352, 364-66, 374, 493

d’Argenlieu policy decisions and, 120, 154-66

Day River Battles (1951), 268-73, *269*, 297-98

De Lattre Line, 266-67, 275, 324

Dien Bien Phu (1954), *vii*, *ix*, xiv, xxi, 381-94, 403-25, 445-53, *451*

“The Disaster of RC4” (1950), 245-50, *247*, 261

Eisenhower administration and, xiv, 339, 340-49, 352, 354, 364-66, 373

end of Bidault phase, 579

Expressen interview with Ho Chi Minh and peace proposals, 396-99

first French and British casualties, 118

first U.S.aid to French, 118

France and, xi-xv, xxi, 115, 253-56

French capture Viet Minh headquarters, 202, 203, 208

French casualties, 207-8, 210, 244, 245, 324, 386, 421, 607

French firepower, 179, 193, 201

French forces, size of, 354

French intelligence leaks, 388, 391

French intelligence services and, 176-77, 586

French pacification using “gridding,” 356-57

French pacification using “oil-spot,” 332-33, 356

French position, post-Dien Bien Phu, *586*, 586-87, 596

French threats of withdrawal from, 311-14, 346, 357, 372, 497, 500, 503

French torture use, 177

French troops and manpower shortage, 168-70, 175-76, 178, 267, 272, 288, 356, 357

French watchtowers erected, 236

“The Generals’Affair,” 237

guerrilla warfare and, 131, 151, 174-78, 207-10, 235, 236, 242, 273, 287, 288, 324-25

“hedgehogs,” 329, 383, 384

Hoa Binh evacuation (1952), 319

Hoa Binh offensive (1951), 288-89, 320

illusion of French control, 190

internationalizing of, 250, 347, 426-27, 431, 481, 483-507, 552, 561 (*see also* United Action)

international responses, 182, 189, 250

journalists and media coverage, 209, 229, 233, 253-54, 263, 273, 274, 278, 280, 294, 312, 362-64, 369, 370, 391, 413, 434, 444-45, 459-60, 467 (*see also* Greene, Graham)

Korean War armistice and, 358, 359

Lai Chau and, *vii*, *ix*, 381, 382, 384-85, 387, 390, 391, 403-4, 405

Lang Son evacuation (1950), 250

Laos invaded (1953), 344-45, *346*, 347

as *la sale guerre* (the dirty war), 349, 350, 434

de Lattre as French commander, 255, 260-67, 273-92

Letourneau Plan, 343-44, 355-56

Mansfield Report, 367-70

napalm used by French, 267, 270-71, 272, 273, 288, 453, 748n 15

Na San, French victory at (1952), 327-29, *328*, 384, 444

as nationalist struggle, 185, 187

Navarre as French commander, 354-57, 359, 381-86, 390

Navarre Plan, 355-56, 364, 366, 369, 375-76, 388, 427, 757n 10

Nghia Lo, fall of, 321-23, 326

Nixon visit and report (1953), 373-78, *374*

Northwest Campaign (1952), 321-23, 326-27

Operation Atlante (1954), 421, 434, 440, 445, 453

Operation Auvergne (1954), 596

Operation Castor (1953), 385-86, *386*, 390

Operation Ceinture (1947), 203

Operation Hirondelle (1953), 363

Operation Léa (1947), 201-3, *202*, 208, 320

Operation Lorraine (1952), 323-24, 326

Operation Mouette (1953), 390

Phu Nho Quan and, 390

physical environment as problem for French, 172-74, *173*, 241, 324-26

public opinion and media coverage, 165, 179

rainy (monsoon) season and, 172-73, 178-79, 201, 238, 241, 246, 272, 319, 322, 345, 357, 438, 459, 465, 495, 500, 510, 511, 537, 539, 545, 546

RC4 and military operations, 170, 174, 207-8, 237, 242

Revers report on and leak of, 235, 236-37, 266

roads as problem for French, *173*, 173-74

Salan as French commander, 319-24

as stalemate, 210, 235, 332, 389, 398

terrain, *243*, 325

French Indochina War (*cont.*)

terrorist attacks, 320

as unwinnable for French, 178, 193, 253, 339, 357

U.S.direct military intervention and, 347, 366, 427-29, 453, 454-509, 563-66 (*see also* United Action)

U.S.personnel and, 355-56

U.S.support for France, xi, xiii, xvii, xxi, 219, 230-33, 234

U.S.weaponry and matériel, *232*, 242, 253, 256, 257-58, 267, 271, 283, 284-86, 308, 311, 341-42, *346*, 366, 377, 389, 414, 483, *498*

Viet Minh casualties, 251, 270, 272, 328-29, 386, 619, 783n 5

Viet Minh condition, post-Dien Bien Phu, 596

Viet Minh intelligence agents, 251

Viet Minh operations (1949), 235

Viet Minh plan for, 160, 170-71

Viet Minh preparation for, 151-54

Viet Minh's strategic defense (1947), 170-71

Viet Minh's strategic offense (1950), 238-39, 243, 268-73, *269*

Viet Minh supply problems, 253

Viet Minh time estimate for seizure of Vietnam, 596

Viet Minh troops, 171

Viet Minh women in, 241

French Union, 17, 279. *See also* Associated States

Bao Dai Congress and, 349, 371, 398

Bollaert and Vietnam "liberty," 201

constitution of, 280

"The Disaster of RC4," 245-50, *247*

DRV opposition to, 171

DRV's offer of membership in (Geneva), 560

DRY's struggle against (*see* French Indochina War)

as federation and subordination of states within, 137, 141, 201

fighting in Tonkin and, *173*

French sovereignty and, 137, 141, 201

Geneva Conference stipulations and, 564, 569, 581, 584, 610

Ho and desire to be part of, 158

independence of Vietnam within, 132, 136, 205, 211, 276, 277, 376, 567

Indochinese Federation within (five “lands”), 75

lack of French commitment and, 398

lack of mobility within, 174

Laos and Cambodia as “Associated States,” 211 (*see also* Associated States)

Laotian mutual defense treaty and, 384

de Lattre’s goals and, 263, 279, 290-91

Leclerc as head of forces in Indochina, *62*

Nixon visit (1953) and, 377

partition and, 563, 641

Republic of Vietnam recognized by, 133, 137

“State of Vietnam” within，211，562，576，587，588，594，601，602，606，610

troops，*see* French Expeditionary Corps；Vietnamese National Army；

Galard-Terraube，Geneviève de，511

Gallagher，Gen.Philip E.，108，109

Gallieni，Joseph-Simon，332

Gardner，Lloyd，316

Garnier，Francis，94，618

Gaucher，Lt.Col.Jules，443，446

GCMA（Groupement de commandos mixtes aéroportés），392

Geneva Accords（1954），648

Britain and，632

civilian regroupment and，637

Diem’s hostility toward，601-2，621-22，651

elections for reunification and，609-10，620，625，649-50，651-52，665

Final Declaration，605-6

France and，621-23，649，651-52

non-compliance with，630

seventeenth parallel and，625

U.S. and，612，623，631，651，652，671-72

vacuum of power following，in South，642

Viet Minh and，630-31，632

Viet Minh takeover of Hanoi and，617

Geneva Conference（1954），436，438，507，549-83，599-613

agreement reached，604-5

analysis of French betterment of Viet Minh in negotiations，607-13

Associated States and，550，559，579

Bao Dai government and，601-2，606

de Brébisson-Ha sessions，566-67，575-76，580

Britain and Eden，483，485，487，505，507，549，550，551，555-58，559，562-64，567-69，572，574-75，580-81，585，599-603，610-11，613

cease-fire agreements，603，605

China and Zhou Enlai, 521, 522-23, 549, 550, 555, 559, 581-83, 599-603, *603*, 608-10, 778-79n 17

Dien Bien Phu and, 439, 440, 523, 530, 538, 562

Dulles diplomacy (April 11-27) and, 482, 487

elections for reunification discussed, 560, 561, 566, 584, 587, 593, 601, 604

final phase (July 10—July 21, 599-613

France and, 440, 442, 459, 487, 488-89, 501

France and Bidault, 550-51, 555-56, 559-60, 562-64, 566, 568-69, 572, 573, 579-80

France and Mendès France, 575-76, 577-79, 581, 599-606, *603*, 608-12

Franco-American negotiations (secret talks), 563-66, 568, 573

Franco-Viet Minh negotiations, 567, 573, 578, 580

India and, 602

Indochina sessions, 559-76

Korea discussion, 550

lodgings and residences for delegates, 550

partition, leopard skin approach, 562-63, 580

partition, line of demarcation and, 596, 597, 601, 604, 605, 608

partition and, 520-21, 561-63, 566, 567, 570, 573, 574, 576, 580

partition opponents, 550, 551, 562, 566, 567, 569, 601

pre-Geneva working group, 495

restrictions and lack of social interactions, 554-55

Soviet-Chinese-Viet Minh meeting on strategy (June 15), 582-83

Soviet Union and Molotov, 521, 523, 549, 550, 559, 580, 581, 582, 599, 602, 604, 605, 608, 610

supervisory commission created, 603-4, 605 (*see also* International Control Commission)

U.S. and, 460, 479, 492, 520

U.S. and change of policy, 569, 573-75

U.S. and Dulles, 550, 554, 555-57

U.S. and Robertson, 581-82

U.S. and Smith, 557-59, 562, 564, 567-69, 573-75, 602-3, 605

U.S. rejection of peace agreement and partition, 588, 591-92, 594, 599-600, 602-3, 606, 612, 623, 777n 53

U.S. tactic of delay, 573-74, 580

U.S. threats of military intervention and Communist concessions, 569, 570, 572, 573, 580, 612

Viet Minh (or DVR) and, 519, 521, 522-23, 551, 554-55, 559-62, 566, 580, 581, 582-83, 595-96, 602, 604, 609-10, 778-79n 17

Viet Minh’s core points, 560-61

Western unity and, 559

Giap, Gen. Vo Nguyen. *See* Vo Nguyen Giap, Gen.

Gilles, Col. Jean, *328*, 329

Dien Bien Phu and, 386, 391, 405

Giraud, Henri, 51-52

Goldwater, Barry, 366

Goscha, Christopher, 542

Gouin, Félix, 130, 140

Gracey, Maj. Gen. Douglas, 113, 115, 116, 117, 118, 124, 127

Graham, Billy, 668

Graves, Hubert, 305-6

Greene, Graham, xii, 294-310, *298*, 659-63, 681-82, 708, 750n 8

article on Dien Bien Phu, 444, 765n 44

on de Lattre, 289-90

on Diem, 663

Grew, Joseph, 28, 63

Guillain, Robert, 444, 536, 563

Guillaume, Gen.Augustin, 347

Gullion, Edmund, xiii, 230, 235-36, 264, 300, 306

Hagerty, James, 429, 494, 771n 48

Haiphong, *vii*, *ix*, 28, 29, 67, 68, 147

French bombardment and casualties (Nov.1946), 154-58, 164, 165, 347, 372, 738n 23

French control of, 132, 133, 140, 152, 167, 232, 237, 250, 267, 360, 537, 562, 563

partition and French withdrawal, 562, 587, 602, *606*, 607, 631, 637, 666

post-partition, 631

strategic importance, 155, 587

Viet Minh and, 151, 156

Halberstam, David, xxi, 708

Halsey, Adm. William F., 68

Hanoi, *viii*

anti-colonialism in, 17

anti-Viet Minh and pro-French groups, 130

armistice announced (July 21, 1954), 605

Battle of, 160-63, *162*, 171

British counsel in, 280, 295

Chinese occupation of, 110, 126

Citadel, *viii*, 70, 133, 160, 421, 617

colons (French settlers) in, 107, 110, 140, *141*, 164, 250, 273

Hanoi (*cont.*)

DRV government in, xiv, 125-26, 130

DRV takeover (1954), 617-19, *618*

French architecture and amenities□92-93

French development of□8

French Indochina War and□208□250

French in Governor-General’s Palace□140

French position in□post-Dien Bien Phu□586

French troops in□133□140□*141*□152□329

Governor-General Catroux in□28-33

Governor-General Decoux in□31□33□37□37-38□50□67-70□73□78

Governor-General Sarraut in□12

Governor-General’s Palace□*viii*□28□70□92□96□107□110□113□140□620-21

Hoa Lo prison□148□162

Ho Chi Minh declares Vietnamese independence□1945□□92□94-95□*96*□96-98

Japanese occupation and□68□70

Kennedys in□1951□□xiii

March□Japanese□coup□191

Metropole Hotel，*viii*，100，329

National Assembly，133

Nixon visit（1953），374

Opera House，*viii*，94

partition and French withdrawal，562，572

Paul Doumer（Long Bien）bridge，92，160，173，618

post-partition，631

self-defense militia in（*tu ve*），127

terrorist attacks，421

U.S.consul in，158-59

Viet Minh and，91，151

World War Ⅱ and，27-33

Hanoi-Haiphong corridor，167，173，208，235，245，421，519，537，571，577，586

Harkins，Gen.Paul D.，704

Harriman，W.Averell，57-58，430

Harrison，Benjamin，336

Harwood，Paul，626-29，784n 17

Ha Van Lau, 566-67, 580

Hayslip, Le Ly, 175-76

Hazlett, Swede, 508

Hearst, William Randolph, Jr., 664, 677

Heath, Donald, xiii, 271, 280, 294, 300, 305, 308, 309, 340-41, 371, 374, 419, 444, 592

Diem and, 601-2, 658

Eisenhower note to Diem and, 630

post-partition, 627

replacement of, 638-39

Hellet, Maj.Jack, 700

Herriot, Édouard, 535

Herzstein, Robert, 664

Higgins, Marguerite, 656

Hirohito, Emperor of Japan, 91, 99

Hiss, Alger, 223, 335

Histoire du Viet-Nam, de 1940 à 1952 (Devillers), 350

Hmong people, 77, 381, 383

Hoa Hao (politico-religious sect), 110, 112, 131, 152, 199, 371

U.S.payoff of, 642

Hoang Van Hoang, 522

Hoang Van Thai, 394, 413

Ho Chi Minh, xvi

birth, 5, 10, 723n 6

character and personality, 15-16, 83-84, 85, 101, 129, 134-35, 138-39, 149-50, 192

Chen Geng and, 242

Communism of, xix, 13-16, 36, 78, 83, 139, 159, 196, 219, 220, 225-29, 462-63

erudition of, 11, 722n 15

French culture and, 145-46

ICP and, 17, 18-19, 34-36, 126, 172, 194, 225

international recognition sought, 127-28, 187-88, 193-94

names of, 3-4, 10, 77, 94

nationalist movement leadership, xii, xxi, 35, 633

popular support for，xiv，xvⅲ，126，220，286，361，369，633，652

Stalin and，55，225

U.S.backing sought by，xvⅱ，xxi，82-86，87，98-106，128，134，143，158-59，195-96，218-19，229

Vietnam War（American War）and，712-13

“war between an elephant and a tiger” statement，144，712-13

writing of，14-15，35-36，51，229

1919-1939：

in China，17，228-29

education and early nationalism，10

exile from Vietnam，10

in France，xxi，3-4，10-16，722n 17

French Communist Party and，13-16

French persecution of，18-19

French Socialist Party and，12-13，*13*

Irish struggle and，11，12

Korean nationalists and, 12
in London, 4, 11
in Moscow (1923), 16-17
petition for Allied Leaders (1919), xxi, 3, 11-12
Soviet Union and, 14
in Thailand, 17
Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League established by, 17
visit to U.S., xxi, 11
1940-1945:
anti-Communist opponents, xviii, 95
August Revolution and, 93-98
Chinese occupation of Vietnam and, 108-10
colonialism and, 72-73
Declaration of Independence quoted by, 97, 98, 134
declares Vietnamese independence (1945), 92, 94-98, *96*, 110, 195
dual vision of America (1945), 99

enters Hanoi, 93, 95, *96*, 97

first government, 96, 153

ICP uprising (1940), 34

illness and American treatment, 85, 93

incarceration in China, 77-78

OSS agents and, 82-86, *86*, 98, 104

Pac Bo headquarters, 85

Pac Bo meeting and Eighth Plenum (1941), 34-36

photo of Chennault and, 84

return to Vietnam (1941), 34-36

surrender of Japan and liberation of Vietnam, 91

in Tonkin, 78

Viet Minh created, 35, 36

as Viet Minh leader, 77, 78

Vietnam Revolutionary League created, 78

1946-1949:

Acheson’s view of, 220

Bao Dai Solution, response to, 211

belief in victory, 143-44, 192, 193

Chinese occupation of Vietnam and, 126, 128, 133

concerns about French military successes, 178

diplomatic failures, 195-97, 201, 213

in France (1946), 137-46, *138, 737*n 1

French Indochina War and, xi-xv, 151-54, 158, 161

French Socialist Party and, 130

Giap and, 148-50

headquarters, Thai Nguyen, 189, 190

lack of contact with West after 1947, 192

March 6 Accords and, 133-34, 135, 736n 19

Modus Vivendi signed by, 144-45

Mus negotiations and, 189-92

negotiations with France and, 124-26, 132, 137-46, *138*, 158

Sainteny and, 128-30, 132, 137-38, *138*, 144, 158

Soviet Union and, xvii, 220

1949-1953,

address to DRV National Assembly, 397, 426

Border Campaign and, 246, 248, 252, 259

in China and Moscow (1950), 227-29

Chinese advisors and, 387-88

Communist countries recognize DRV, 224-25

Day River Battles (1951) and criticism of Giap, 273

Dien Bien Phu and, 388, 389-90, 394, 412, 424

discontent among populace and, 330-31

Eisenhower administration and, 333

Expressen interview and peace proposals, 396-99

French Indochina War strategy and, 330, 388, 389-90, 394

invisibility to outside world, 329-30

Mao and, 228, 321

negotiated peace and, 350, 351, 354

negotiations with, thwarted by U.S., 339

secret visits to Beijing and Moscow (1952), 321, 330

Soviet Union and, 224, 228

1954-1959:

address to DRV Central Committe’s Eighth Plenum, 654

brutal repressive measures and, 633

in China and Moscow (1954), 522-24

in China and Moscow (1955), 653-54

economic challenges post-partition, 620-21, 631-34

elections for reunification and, 649, 652

Geneva Conference and, 439

International Control Commission and, 626

meeting with Nehru (Oct.17, 1954), 619, 621

national elections and, 594, 610, 620

negotiated peace and, 519-21, 598

Ngo Dinh Diem and, xviii

partition talks and, 572

residence of, 620-21

Sainteny and French relations, 621-23, *622*

as senior advisor to DRV, 689

Ho Chi Minh (1954-1959 (*cont.*))

Soviets and Chinese as patrons, 520, 621, 653-54

Soviets and Chinese pre-Geneva strategy session, 522-24

takeover of North Vietnam post-partition, 618-21, *622*

visit to Mao (1958), 688

war in the South and, 688, 689, 791n 37

Zhou Enlai meeting (Liuzhou, July, 1954), 595-97

Zhou Enlai secret meeting (June, 1954), 585

Hochstetter, Leo, 299, 300

Hopkins, Harry, 63, 65

Hue

anti-colonialism in, 17

March coup and Kim government, 72, 81-82

partition, line of demarcation and, 604

Hughes, Emmet John, 297

Hugo, Victor, 9, 15, 145

Hull, Cordell, 42, 44, 45, 52

Humphrey, George, 427-28, 479

Humphrey, Hubert H., 437, 645-46, 664

Hunter, William H., 225

Hurley, Patrick, 65

Huynh Kim Khanh, 35

India, 7, 18, 50, 53, 55, 56, 194, 195, 283, 402, 624

British Indochina policy and, 491, 504

British loss of, 506

Communist threat to, 583

Geneva Conference and, 581, 602

International Control Commission and, 603, 605, 652

Indochina, *vii*, xv, xvii, xxi. *See also* French Indochina War, Vietnam

American status at conclusion of World War II, xii-xiii

Associated States (Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia), 229, 230, 233, 276, 284, 318, 345

Bao Dai Solution, 198-201, 204-6, 207, 210-12

British support of French in, 56

devaluation of the piaster, 347-49, 370

Free French and Gaullist Resistance in, 59, 63, 68, 69

French business interests in, 74

French colonialism in, 5-9, 25, 39, 71-76

French crackdown on nationalists in, 19

French declaration (1944), 75-76

French Union, 17, 75, 132, 133, 136

Indochinese Federation, 37, 75, 132, 133

OSS operations in, 82-86

Paris-appointed governor-general, 7

post-war balance of trade and, 207

reform attempts, 12

Territorial Control 1954, *538*

U.S.policy and Japan’s postwar recovery, 221

U.S.policy change under Truman, 66, 87-91, 101, 106-7, 120, 158-59, 182, 196-97, 229-30, 697, 709

U.S.policy under Eisenhower，xiv，339，340-49，352，354，364-66，373，377，389，427，428，429，454-509，591，623-24，629，630，644-48，652-53，658，663-73，697-98，709

U.S.policy under Roosevelt，50-66，710

U.S.recognizes French sovereignty（1945），89，709

U.S.United Action proposal and，462-80

World War Ⅱ and，xvi，19，27-34，*37*，39，*40*，41，50，63，68-71

Indochinese Communist Party（ICP），17，18-19

Eighth Plenum，35

Giap in，148

Ho Chi Minh “dissolves，” 126，172，194，225

March，Japanese，coup and，76-77

neutral line toward U.S.，225

Nguyen Binh in，152

Ninth Plenum，94

Pac Bo meeting（1941），34-36

Saigon and，111-12

Sixth Plenum, 226

uprising in Tonkin and Cochin China (1940), 34

Vichy-Japan détente and, 77

Viet Minh support generated by, 172

Indochinese Federation, 37, 75, 132, 133

Indonesia, 41, 50, 56, 77, 222, 258, 624

Communist threat to, 583

International Control Commission (ICC), 603-4, 605, 618, 626

elections for reunification and, 652, 669

North Vietnam and, 632

International Rescue Committee (IRC), 677-78

Ireland, 11, 12

Isaacs, Harold, 104-5, 229

Jackson, C.D., 363, 763n 5

Jacquet, Marc, 358, 385, 425

visit to Dien Bien Phu, 422, 450

Japan

coup in Indochina，71-72，149，156，190

domino theory and，505

support of French in Vietnam，118

surrender of，91，94，96，191

U.S. and postwar recovery，221

Vichy France and，33

World War Ⅱ and control of Indochina，xvi，xxi，19，28-34，*37*，39，*40*，41，50，68-71，*69*

World War Ⅱ and March coup in Indochina，72，76，78，149，155，156

World War Ⅱ and U.S.，41-43，726n 39

Java，182，186

Jebb，Sir Gladwyn，568

Jenner，William，224

Johnson，Lyndon Baines

Acheson and，217

Gulf of Tonkin resolution，706，767n 23

meeting of April 3，1954 and，467，469

Operation Rolling Thunder (1965), 712
rejection of Geneva Accords and, 600
Vietnam War and, 217, 706, 709-11
Karnow, Stanley, 701
Kattenburg, Paul, 647, 793n 1
Kennan, George F., 221
Kennedy, John F., 368
AFV and, 664
on Algerian war, 703
anti-colonialism of, xⅲ-xiv, 367
assassination of Diem and his brother and, 705-6
Diem and, 589, 658, 666, 677, 704, 705
Lansdale and optimism about Communist defeat, 707-8
support for involvement in South Vietnam, 665-66
on United Action, 477-78, 665
“Vietnam Lobby” and, 658
Vietnam policies as president, 702-6, 707-8, 709-11

Vietnam visit (1951), xi-xiv, 286, 309, 719n 1
White’s assessment of Vietnam War and, 706
Kennedy, Patricia, xi, 286
Kennedy, Robert F., xi-xiv, 286, 705
on France in Vietnam, 286-87
Khmer Issarak, 560, 566, 582, 585
Khrushchev, Nikita, 523, 631, 653
Kipling, Rudyard, 6
Knowland, William, 367, 460, 461, 467, 468, 469, 599-600, 645, 664
Konoe, Fumimaro, 42
Korean War, 234, 256, 257, 263, 280, 282, 284, 291, 335, 465, 508
armistice, 358, 364-65, 366, 395
Chinese in, 257, 273, 315
Chinese loss, U.S. and, 596, 597
effect of peace on France, 357, 358, 359
Eisenhower and, 338-39

Geneva Conference and, 550

negotiated peace and, 316, 317, 339, 346, 357, 578

Truman and, 256, 283, 291, 460, 554

Vietnam linked to, 316, 341, 395

Krock, Arthur, 492

Krull, Germaine, 114-15

Kyes, Roger, 468, 471, 763n 5

Lacouture, Jean, 145, 442

Ladejinsky, Wolf, 683, 695

L'Affaire Henry Martin (Sartre), 372-73

Lalande, Col.André, 534

Landon, Kenneth, 187

Langlais, Col.Pierre, 449-50

Laniel, Joseph

Bermuda summit (1953), 399-402, *401*

Dien Bien Phu and, 442, 503

Dien Bien Phu defeat and, 534-35

Dulles and United Action, 487, 503, 504

Eisenhower cable to, urging commitment to staying in Indochina, 502

Geneva Conference and, 434, 487, 494

government of, 352, 353, 354, 357, 358, 366, 437, 438, 459, 473, 488, 504-5, 563, 564

Indochina independence and, 357, 370

negotiations with Viet Minh and, 362, 372, 396, 398, 399

Pleven report on French Indochina War and, 440

request for U.S.air strikes and, 473, 474, 476-77

U.S.relations with, 354, 357

Lansdale, Edward, xvi, 681

CIA and role in South Vietnam, *635*, 635-38, 640, 643, 645, 657-59, 779n 20

Greene’s character Alden Pyle and, 299, 660, 708

Saigon Military Mission (covert operation), 635

Thé and Third Force, 307

U.S. and nation-building (modernization), 659

Vietnam War optimism and707-8794n 10

Lansing□Robert□336□338

Laos□xv□xvi

China and□583□778-79n 17

Communist threat in□340-41

French control□5□7□75-76□560□*see also* French Union□

French defense of□382□384

Geneva agreement reached□604-5

Geneva Conference and□567□573□581□583□584□601

Indochinese Federation and□142

Luang Prabang□capital city□□439-40□444□543

March□Japanese□coup and□72□76

neutrality of□595□604□624

Nixon visit□1953□□374

partition and French withdrawal□566

Pathet Lao in□413□560□566□582□585□596□601□607-8□704

PAVN divisions in，413

Pleven and Ely visit，439-40

U.S.support for colonial puppet regime in，229

U.S.support for French in，347

Viet Minh in，582

Viet Minh offensive in，321，344-45，*346*，347，387，439-40，444

Viet Minh solidarity with，171

World War Ⅱ and，68

La Paria（*The Outcast*）journal，14

Lattre de Tassigny，Gen.Jean de，xⅲ，255，260-67，*265*，273-92，*285*，318，354，358

Americans as rivals to French and，278-80，749n 36

arrival in Saigon（Dec.19，1950），264-65

attentistes（fence sitters）and，276，277，278

birthplace，261，292

cancer of，and death，275，281，287，289-92，313

character and personality262276280281283290

death of son274276277280302

Eisenhower and281339346

Greene and302303

Hoa Binh offensive1951288-89

*as Le Roi Jean*King Jean262264274

posted to Indochina1950263

Salan and319-20

tactics and strategy266-67748n 15

U.S.visit1951281-84286

in World War Ⅱ261-62

Lattre de TassignyLt.Bernard de260-61267274276-77292302332747n 3

LaurentieHenri75135

Lebanon90145

LeclercGen.Philippede Hautecloque*62*91108117-18124127185191298349

in Cochin, 130

de Gaulle and, 165, 741n 1

doubts about French victory in Vietnam, 119, 178

French troops return to Vietnam with, 117-20, 191

negotiations with Viet Minh and, 130-32, 136-37, 139-40

Operation Bentré, 132-33

replaced in Indochina, 142

Lederer, William, 667

Le Dragon de bambou (Ho Chi Minh), 14

Le Duan, 688-89, 690-91

Le Figaro, 536, 611-12

Le Franc-Tiereur, 536

Le Huu Tu, Bishop, 298, 302, 303

Le Liem, 413

Le Monde, 349, 350, 444, 536, 563, 756n 32, 756n 35

Expressen interview with Ho Chi Minh reprinted, 398

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 13, 14, 16, 36, 95

Le Page, Col.Marcel, 246, *247*, 248, 249, 250, 251

Leroy, Jean, 298-99

Letourneau, Jean, 318, 342, 343, 346, 351

L'Express, 350-51

Liebling, A.J., 661

Life magazine, 57, 293-94, 297, 301, 303-4, 364, 646, 679

article by Dennis Duncan, 362-63

criticism of Diem, 679

Lippmann, Walter, 48, 183, 184, 233, 554

Liu Shaoqi, 226, 229, 242, 321

Lloyd, Selwyn, 430

Lodge, Henry Cabot, 281, 340

Löfgren, Svante, 396-97

Longuet, Jean, 12

Lovett, Robert, 283, 285

Luce, Henry R., 212-13, 282, 283, 297, 363, 664, 757n 24

Diem and，646

Lu Han，108，109，120，128，129，131，151

Luo Guibo，227

Luu Doan Huynh，619

Lyautey，Marshal Hubert，206，261，266

MacArthur，Douglas，Ⅱ，471，473，474

MacArthur，Gen.Douglas，257，262，317，338，455

Macmillan，Harold，337

MacSwiney，Terence，11

Madagascar，25，170，180

nationalist movement and French massacre，180

Makins，Roger，482，487，489-90，571，572

Malaya，18，41，50，56，77，182，195，222，294-95，297，342，365，402，427，433

domino theory and，477，504，755n 19

Emergency（Communist insurgency beaten in），707-8

Malenkov，Georgy，395

Manela，Erez，14

Manila Pact, 624, 628

Mankiewicz, Joseph, 681

Mansfield, Mike, 478, 589, 680

AFV and, 664, 681

Diem and, 368, 589, 627-29, 630, 640, 646, 658

"Indochina" report, 369, 759n 35

Indochina's importance and, 367-70, 759n 32

insurgency in South Vietnam and, 698

realism of (1963), 708

Mao Zedong, xii, 54, 85, 133, 194, 206-7, 210, 212, 219, 335, 686-87

on Dien Bien Phu, 523-24

Geneva Accords and, 609

Geneva Conference and, 582

Giap and, 149, 150

Ho Chi Minh and, 228, 321, 523, 688

Korean War and, 395

partition of Vietnam and, 609

Pham Van Dong meeting□1964□□711

pledge to help Viet Minh□228□242

political settlement of French Indochina War□to keep U.S.out□598-99

pre-Geneva strategy session□523

Stalin and□226□227□228

U.S.call for United Action and□483

U.S.policy and□221□499□555

victory in China□221

March 1945□Japanese□coup□72□76□78□149□155□156

March 6 Accords□133-34□135□140□157

Marmier□Max□350

Marr□David□119-20

Marshall□George C.□62□186□187□196□335

Marshall Plan□196□217

Martin□Henri□157-58□372-73

Martin□Joseph□461□467

Martin□Maurice□33

Massigli, René, 181, 505

Matsumoto, Shunichi, 67

Matsuoka, Yosuke, 30, 41

Mauriac, François, 139

Mayer, René, 342, 343, 346, 347, 349, 357, 370

McCarthy, Joseph, 223, 286, 303, 334-35, 430, 454, 460, 554, 710

McClintock, Robert, 591, 777n 53

McCormack, John W., 468, 768n 26

McGovern, James B., 529, 700, 774n 34

McLeod, Scott, 430

McNamara, Robert, 705

Mei Jiasheng, 394

Melby, John, 257

Mendès France, Pierre, xviii, 254-55, 313, 316, 350-52, *603*

background of, 579

Diem and, 630

Dulles and, 600-601

Franco-American ties, 623, 631, 634, 784-85n 30

Geneva negotiations and, 575-76, 577-79, 581, 597, 599-606, 608-12

Ngo Dinh Diem and, 621-22

North Vietnam, relationship with, 621-23

partition of Vietnam and, 585-88

as prime minister, 575-76, 579

Seven Points and, 593-94, 600-601, 780n 36

U.S.visit (1954), 631, 784-85n 30

Zhou Enlai and meeting at Bern (June 23, 1954), 583-85, 592, 595-96, 610, 779n 20

Menon, Krishna, 602

Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG), 257, 308-9, 344, 629, 686

buildup of ARVN and, 669-73, 699, 792-93n 57

post-partition South Vietnam, 629-30, 694

Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV), 704

Millikan, Eugene, 467

Modus Vivendi of 1946, 144-45, 151, 154, 157

Moffat, Abbot Low, 88, 158-59, 178, 187, 738-39n 27

Molotov, Vyacheslav, 435, 436, 437, 522, 560

Geneva Conference and, 549, 550, 559, 580, 581, 599, 602, 604, 605, 610

Soviet-Chinese-Viet Minh Geneva meeting on strategy (June 15), 582-83

Vietnam elections and, 610, 654

Monnet, Jean, 316

Mordant, Gen. Eugène, 70

Morgenthau, Hans J., 666

Morison, Samuel Eliot, 664

Morocco, 220, 314, 623

colonials in French military, 245, 246, 247, 249, 361

Morton, Thruston B., 468

Mounier, Emmanuel, 139, 656

Mountbatten, Lord Louis, 63, 68, 88, 90, 117, 119

Moutet，Marius，142，144，164，170，181

Muggeridge，Malcolm，61

Muir，Malcolm，664

Mundt，Karl，664

Munro，Sir Leslie，470，471，565

Murphy，Robert，24，32

Mus，Paul Léon Joseph，155，189-92，195，200，220，350，741n 7

three conclusions of，192-93

Name of the Action，The（Greene），303

napalm，xvii，267，270-71，272，273，288，328，421，453，515，748n 15

Nashel，Jonathan，659

National Committee for the Liberation of Vietnam，149

nationalism and nationalist movements Allied victory in World War II and，72-73

Atlantic Charter and，49-50

Bao Dai and，198-99，200，201，206，207，211-13，300-301

British Gen. Gracey and, 113-15, 118

Catholics in Vietnam and, xiv, 199 (*see also* Ngo Dinh Diem)

Chinese in Vietnam and, 109-10

Communists and, xiv, xvi, 13-14, 16, 36, 78, 151, 185, 219, 222, 226, 227, 234

DRV (Viet Minh) and, xiv, xxii, 96, 101, 113, 127, 130, 145, 151, 161, 201, 226, 362, 619

first generation of, 8-9, 11-12

French hard-line policy against, xviii, 7, 106, 118, 124, 134, 165, 175-76, 180, 185, 198 (*see also* d’Argenlieu, Adm. Georges Thierry; Leclerc, Gen. Philippe)

French Indochina War and, xi

French opponents to hard-line policy, 180, 191-92

Giap and, 148, 151

Ho Chi Minh and, xii, xiv, xxii, 3, 4, 7, 10, 14, 16, 17, 35, 36, 72, 76-78, 82-83, 93, 96, 102, 125, 127, 128, 185, 205, 219-20, 226, 258, 301, 357, 369

ICP and, 17, 35-36, 76-78

de Lattre and, 290

March, Japanese, coup and, 72, 78

Ngo Dinh Diem and, xiv-xv, xviii, 199, 625-26, 627

Nguyen Van Tam and, 370-71

non-Communist or anti-Communist, xvii, xviii, xix, 17-18, 19, 36, 95, 99, 101, 128, 129, 130, 132, 151, 199, 200, 201, 205, 206, 259, 300-301, 305-7, 362, 371, 373, *see also* Dai Viet, VNQDD,

post-partition, South Vietnam, 626

repression of, 9, 19, 36, 38, 113-15, 118

Third Force, 293-94, 299, 300-301, 305-7, 368, 375, 625

U.S.aid to “sect armies,” 305-7

U.S.backing of Diem and, 624

U.S.inspiration for, xvi, 50, 99, 105

U.S.response to, 52, 87-88, 90, 99, 159, 183, 186-87, 211, 258, 703, *see also* Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, Truman, Harry,

World War I and, 9, 10

Nationalist Party. *See* VNQDD

National Liberation Army of Vietnam, 149

National Liberation Front (NLF), 691

National Union Front, 200

National United Front, 152

NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 217-18, 220, 281, 312, 495, 500, 505

nuclear weapons and, 499-500

Navarre, Gen. Henri, xx, 347, 354-57, 359, 756n 2

Christmas Eve visit to Dien Bien Phu, 408-10, *409*

Cogny split with, 420, 496, 512, 545

Dien Bien Phu and, 377-78, 381-86, 403, 419, 422, 425, 440, 444, 452-53, 496, 500, 512, 514, 543-44

Dien Bien Phu defeat and, 536-37

Laos defense and, 536

leopard skin partition concept and, 562-63

loss of territorial control and, 537-38, *538*

Mansfield Report and, 369

Navarre Plan, 355-56, 364, 366, 369, 375-76, 388, 427, 757n 10

Nixon visit (1953), 374, 377
Operation Atlante (1954), 421, 434, 440
Operation Hirondelle (1953), 363
Operation Mouette (1953), 390
secret directive No.40, 382
secret directive No.949 as momentous decision, 392
Time magazine cover story, 363
top secret plans to withdraw from Dien Bien Phu, 410-11
U.S.aid for, 366, 376, 377
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 286-87, 442, 491, 574
meeting with Ho Chi Minh (Oct. 17, 1954), 619, 621
Zhou Enlai meeting (summer, 1954), 595
Nehru, Pandit, 194
New Republic, 233, 463, 464, 663
Newsweek, 536, 554, 661, 664, 685
New Yorker, 280, 459, 661
New York Herald Tribune, 664

New York Journal-American, 664

New York Times

de Gaulle and, 45

Diem and, 646, 676, 694

French and Bao Dai, 230

French Indochina War as lost, 178

hawkish position on Indochina, 284, 364, 367, 459, 495

Krock report on Nixon speech, 492-93

Reston reports, 218, 463-64

review of *The Quiet American*, 661

Saigon-based reporters, 280, 293

on secret war in Vietnam, 705

Sulzberger reports, 495, 644

New Zealand

domino theory and, 475, 477, 505

Indochina multilateral coalition and, 469, 470, 471, 565, 566

SEATO and, 624

support for political settlement in Indochina, 569-70, 571

Ngo Dinh Can, 679

Ngo Dinh Diem, xvi, xviii-xix, 199, 368, 588-91, 625-30, 649-58, 660, 663-73, 792n 55

alternatives to proposed, 644-45

anti-Communism of, 588, 591

assassination attempt on, 1957,, 674, 789n 1

assassination of, 705

Bao Dai ousted and rigged elections, 1955,, 655-56, 657

Bao Dai regime and, 588-91, 620

“Battle of Saigon,” 644-45

becomes prime minister, 576

Catholicism of, 199, 368, 588, 638, 676

challenges to leadership, 627

CIA’s Lansdale and, 589, 634-36, *636*, 640, 645, 657-58, 779n 20

Dooley and, 667, 668, 669

Eisenhower/Eisenhower administration and, 630, 658, 674-78, *675*, 687

elections for reunification and, 651-52, 653, 656

France and, 621-22, 643

Geneva Accords and, 601-2, 621-22, 626, 651, 652, 656

guillotine used by, 692

Hinh coup attempt and, 636-37

ideology of personalism and, 656-57

International Control Commission and, 626

Kennedy and, 589, 704, 705

Mansfield and, 368, 589, 627-29, 630, 640, 646, 658

partition of Vietnam and, 591

propaganda by, 655

religious sects and gangs and, 642-45

repression by and brutality of, 655, 679-80, 683, 689, 692-93

Republic of Vietnam (RVN) created by, 656

royal oligarchy of, 679, 696

as Third Force, 625-26, 627

unpopularity and poor leadership, 628-29, 639-40, 644, 680, 682-87, 696

U.S.backing of, 624, 628-30, 634-48, 649, 652-53, 663-73, 674-78, 697

U.S.connections, 588-91

U.S.critics of, 679-80, 686, 695

U.S.escalation of military involvement and, 699, 792-93n 57

U.S.financial aid to, 641, 669-70

U.S.lack of leverage with, 696

U.S.media support for, 646, 664, 676-78, 694

“Vietnam Lobby” and, 658

visit to U.S. (1956), 673, 674-78, *675*

warning of trouble to come, 602

Williams and, 671

Ngo Dinh Luyen, 590

Ngo Dinh Nhu, 399, 626, 656-57, 679

  anti-Americanism of, 696

  assassination of, 705

  Madame Nhu and, 679

  repression by and brutality of, 683

Ngo Dinh Thuc, 679

Nguyen Binh, 152-53, 235, 245, 288, 746n 10

Nguyen Quoc Dinh, 559

Nguyen Thi Dinh (Madame Dinh), 693-94

Nguyen Thi Ngoc Toan, 516-17

Nguyen Van Hinh, 399, 627, 636-37

Nguyen Van Tam, 341, 349, 364, 370-71, 374, 399, 445

Nguyen Van Thinh, 154

Nguyen Van To, 202

Nguyen Van Xuan, Gen., 205, 206, 211

Nicot, Col. Jean, 385

Niebuhr，Reinhold，337

Nixon，Richard M.，223-24，334，472，506

April 16，1954 speech，491-94，596，770n 27，770-71n 30

Diem and，675

Indochina coalition without Britain proposed，553，565

nuclear weapons and，499

rejection of Geneva Accords，600

support for American war in Vietnam，704

trip to Associated States（1953），373-78，374

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam and，461，472，491-94，552，596，770n 27

Vietnam War and（1970），375

Noble，Sir Percy，29

Nomura，Adm. Kichisaburo，41

North Vietnam. *See* Democratic Republic of Vietnam（DRV）；post-partition（North Vietnam）

Nouth，Penn，374

nuclear weapons

British H-bomb debate, 483, 769n 4

Operation Vulture, Dien Bien Phu, and, 499-500

U.S.H-bomb testing, 482-83, 499-500

U.S.offers to France for Indochina, 498-500

U.S.offers to NATO, 499

Nung people, 77

Oberdorfer, Don, 628

O’Brien, Conor Cruise, 660

O’Daniel, Gen. John “Iron Mike,” 355-56, 443, 665

Office of Strategic Services (OSS), 82-86, *86*. *See also* Patti, Archimedes L.

agents observe untenable French position in Vietnam, 117, 118

Deer Mission, 85, 98

Dewey’s death in Cochin China, 116-17

Ho Chi Minh and, 82-86, *86*, 98

Jedburgh teams, 116

Viet Minh cooperation with, 100-102, *102*

Offroy, Raymond, 566

Ogburn, Charlton, 232

“On Protracted War” (trans. Ho Chi Minh), 229

Operation Passage to Freedom, 637-38, 666

opium, 12, 71, 115, 280, 296, 302, 320, 382, 543, 759n 3

as trade goods, 127, 381, 382, 383

Oram, Harold, 658

Osmeña, Sergio, 66

Ovnand, M.Sgt. Chester, xv, 699-700, 701, 793n 61

Pac Bo, Cao Bang province, 34-36

Pakistan, SEATO and, 624

Paris Match, 301, 307

Paris-Presse, 350, 756n 35

Parodi, Alexandre, 231

partition of Vietnam and, 585-88

Pathet Lao, 413, 560, 566, 582, 585, 596, 601, 607-8, 704

Patti, Archimedes L., 100-102, *102*, 104, 106, 109

  Sainteny and, 100, 107-8

Pavie, Auguste, 382

Peaslee, Amos J., 570

Pégot, Maj. Paul, 446

People’s Army of Vietnam (PAVN), 253, 389, 390, 711. *See also* Dien Bien Phu, Giap’s army

  304th Division, 413, 448

  308th Division, 410, 411, 448, 524, 533, 617

  312th Division, 416-17, 446, 448, 524, 533

  316th Division, 404-5, 410, 448, 524

  320th Division, 567

  325th Division, 413

  351st Heavy Division, 448

  lack of resources and experience, 413

  supply and equipment shortages, 253, 747n 26

People's Daily (Chinese newspaper), 396-99

People's Liberation Armed Forces (PLAF), 691

Pétain, Marshal Philippe, 23, 24, 25, 27, 38

PFAT (*Personnel féminin de l'armée de terre*), 244

Pham Ngoc Mau, 412, 417

Pham Ngoc Thach, 195, 197

Pham Van Dong, 83, 148, 622, 649

Fontainebleau negotiations and, 141-42, 143

Geneva Conference and, 520, 559, 560-61, 566, 580, 581, 602, 604, 609-10

Mao Zedong and, on U.S.war in Vietnam, 711

Soviet-Chinese-Viet Minh Geneva meeting on strategy (June 15), 582-83

Soviets and Chinese pre-Geneva strategy session, 522-23

surrender to Sino-Soviet proposal for election delay, 609-10

Pham Van Truong, 11-12

Pham Xuan An, 302

Phan Chu Trinh, 11

Phan Huy Quat, 230, 644

Phan Thanh Gian, 154

Phat Diem, 269, 272, 276, 295, 297-98, 298, 301, 302

Philadelphia Inquirer, 664

Philippines, 77

Communism in, 222

Eisenhower in, 338

Indochina multilateral coalition and, 469

Japanese occupation and, 50

SEATO and, 624

U.S. and independence of, xiii, 48, 54, 55, 65, 66, 72, 105, 143

U.S.reconquest, 68, 72

World War II and, 41

Picasso, Pablo, 139

Pignon, Léon, 75, 129, 155, 198-201, 204, 207, 231, 250, 735n 12, 742n 13, 747n 30

Pineau, Christian, 316

Piroth, Col.Charles, 420, 422, 443, 444, 449-50

Pleven, René, 59, 263, 311-12, 313-14, 315-16, 323, 399

defeat of Dien Bien Phu and, 536

Geneva Conference and, 562

Indochina cease-fire threatened, 500-501, 503

negotiations on Indochina and, 442

report to Laniel, 440

request for U.S.air strikes and, 473-74

visit to Dien Bien Phu, 439, 453

Poincaré, Raymond, 15

Poland, International Control Commission and, 603, 605, 652

Poldès, Léo, 15

Portuguese colonialism, 57, 72

Pouget, Capt. Jean, 532

Present at the Creation (Acheson), 217

Priest, J.Percy, 468

Pronteau, Jean, 398

Question of National Liberation in Indochina, The (Giap), 148

Quiet American, The (Greene), xii, 294, 297, 298, 299-300, 301, 303-4, 307, 659-63, 708

American reviewers and critics, 661

British reviewers, 660-61

film version, 680-82

Radford, Adm. Arthur, 344

British support for United Action sought by, 501, 502, 505-7

French “defeatist” talk and, 572

meeting of April 3, 1954 and, 467-70

meeting of April 4, 1954 and, 471

nuclear weapons and, 499

Special Committee on Indochina and, 763n 5

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam and, 428, 455, 457-58, 459, 464, 465, 466, 467, 472, 473, 474, 476, 477, 485, 500, 552, 572, 573

Valluy report to, 571-72

Ramadier, Paul, 180, 181, 189, 741n 1

Reader's Digest, 667

Red River Delta, *ix*, xiii, 151, 155, 167, 175, 208

French control of, 167, 170, 237, 245, 253, 265, 320, 360, 384, 387, 389, 420-21, 440, 445, 448, 512, 518, 543, 551, 562, 571, 577, 694

French evacuation of (Operation Auvergne), 596

Giap's offensive strategy and, 268, 288, 319, 321, 332, 445, 500, 562

Navarre defense of (1954), 537

partition and French withdrawal, 594, 596

popular support for Viet Minh in, 360, 361-62

population of, 537

rice production, 619

U.S. and, 369, 551, 592

Viet Minh in, and environs, 78, 81, 152, 208, 275, 340, 344, 360, 387, 421, 519, 537, 577

VNQDD in, 18

Red Star (Soviet newspaper), 395

Reed, Charles, 219

Reid, Whitelaw, 664

Reinhardt, G.Frederick, 664

Reporter, The, 467

Republic of Cochin China, 137, 154, 205, 206

Republic of Vietnam (RVN), 656. *See also* South Vietnam

Resistance Will Win, The (Truong Chinh), 170, 171

Reston, James “Scotty,” 218, 463-64

Revers, Gen. Georges, 235, 236-37, 266

Reynaud, Paul, 24, 181, 182, 353, 372

Ridgway, Gen. Matthew, 464-65, 572

Rivet, Paul, 139

Roberts, Chalmers M., 467, 767-68n 25, 768n 26

Robertson, Walter, 486, 494-95, 503, 556, 558, 581-82, 640

Rockefeller, John D., 677

Ronning, Chester, 583

Roosevelt，Eleanor，89，668，677

Roosevelt，Elliott，46

Roosevelt，Franklin Delano，44-66，*49*，87

anti-colonialism of，xⅲ，46-66，74，101，195，710，728-29n 49

Atlantic Charter，48-50

Cairo Declaration，54

change in Indochina policy，63-64

Chiang Kai-shek and，53-54，57

China and，53-54

Churchill and，42，54-55

death of，65

de Gaulle and，27，44-45，51，52，58，59-60，62

France and，27，31，44，50，58

France and Indochina policy，50-66，710

Good Neighbor Policy，47

Placentia Bay meeting，42，48，*49*

post-war global order and，56-57

Stalin and, 54

Tehran summit, 54-55

trusteeship formula for colonies, 52-56, 64, 65, 66, 74, 87, 89, 90, 109, 728n 46

World War Ⅱ and, 27, 31, 41-42

Yalta conference, 64-65

Roosevelt, Theodore, 46

Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 9

Rovere, Richard, 459-60

Ruane, Kevin, 480

Rusk, Dean, 221, 232, 565

Russell, Richard, 467

Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, 9

Sabattier, Gen, Gabriel, 71

Saigon, *viii*

Allied troops in, 112-15

Americans in, prior to 1950, 233

architecture and amenities, 111

Cité Herault massacre, 115, 117

colons (French settlers) in, 111, 118, 124, 155, 164, 206, 209, 245, 273, 302, 627

Continental Hotel, *viii*, 111, 115, 280, 310, 362

French control returns (1945), 117-20

French in, 6, 8, 111, 113, 115, 245

French Indochina War in, xii, 175, 208-9, 210, 245, 288, 332

French-installed government, 152, 154

French troops in, 152

Grand Hotel, 296

Greene in, 295-96, 750n 8

ICP and, 111-12

Japanese occupation and, 39, 67

Kennedys visit (1951), xi-xiv

Le Cercle Sportif, 206, 209, 210

Majestic Hotel, *viii*, xii, 111, 295, 374

media in, 280

nationalists repressed in, 113-15, *114*, 124
Nixon visits (1953), 374
Norodom Palace, 124
OSS agents in, 116-17, 118
as “Paris of the Orient,” xii, 8, 296, 301-2
reprisals against Viet Minh in, 209
terrorist bombing (1952), 293-94, 304-5
U.S. reports from, on war (1952), 340-41
Vietnamese bourgeoisie in, 8
World War II and, 27, *69*
POST-PARTITION:
“Battle of Saigon,” 644-45
Binh Xuyen crime syndicate in, 626
Franco-American antagonism in, 648
political prisoners in, 680
prosperity in, 669, 680
terrorist attacks, 684

U.S.embassy in，591，669

Sainteny，Jean，100，107-8，110

as casualty，161

Ho Chi Minh and，128-30，132，137-38，138，144，158

Ho Chi Minh and post-partition issues，621，622，632

March 6 Accords and，134，135

St.Pierre and Miquelon，45

Saint-Quentin，René de，29，32

Salan，Gen. Raoul，133，280，289，319-20，346

fall of Nghia Lo and，321-23

Na San，French victory at，327-29，328，383

Navarre and，355

Operation Lorraine，323-24

report on dire situation in Indochina（1954），571

Sanders，Sol，300-301

Sarraut，Albert，12，100，372

Sartre，Jean-Paul，74，179，372-73

Sary, Sam, 604-5

Savary, Alain, 372, 398, 399

Schlesinger, Arthur, Jr., 664

Schoenbrun, David, 143, 144

Schuman, Robert, 181

Schumann, Maurice, 139, 180, 503-4, 562, 568

SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization), 593, 612, 624

Second Indochina War, 690. *See also* Vietnam War

Seven Points, 593-94, 600-601, 780n 36

Shakespeare, William, 15

Shaplen, Robert, 263, 280

Sharp, Lauriston, 159-60

Sheehan, Neil, xix, 657

Sherry, Norman, 306

Shinn, Mac, 85

Shrapnel, Norman, 661

Shuckburgh，Evelyn，400，484，486，501，504，556，766n30

Sihanouk，Prince Norodom，374

Simpson，Howard，308，309，409，648，658

Smith，Walter Bedell，428，468，470，471，474，477，501，557-58

Diem and，590，628

Eden and，567-68

Franco-American negotiations（secret talks），564-66，568

Geneva Conference and，556，557-59，562，564，567-69，573-75，587，591-92，599，602，605

Indochina coalition without Britain and，553

leaks peace proposal to press，567-68

offer of aid to Dien Bien Phu，504-5

Soong，T.V.，109

Souquet，Maj. Jean，403

South Vietnam，xix，xxi

Americanization of，307-8

Americans in, number of, 669

American takeover from French in, 623-24, 625, 648, 649, 650, 687

anti-Americanism in, 696

anti-Diem dissent, 674, 684, 705-6, 789n 1

army of (*see* Army of the Republic of Vietnam)

Ben Tre province insurrections (1960), 693-94

Catholics in, 637-38, 676, 683-84, 696

CIA in, 626-29, 634-38

Commercial Import Program (CIP), 641, 680

complexity of relationship to U.S., 673

constitution for, 640

corruption and terror in, 682-83

creation of, xiv, 604

dependency on the U.S., 682, 687

Diem and, xix, 199, 620, 625-30, 634-48, 649-58, 660, 663-73, 682

Diem’s 10/59 Decree, 692

Diem’s “agrovilles□” 692-93

Diem’s repression and brutality in□679-80□683□689

economy failure□682

exodus from north to□631□637-38□666-67

Fall’s return to and report on□684-86

France and□621□623□625□627□634□639□641□647-48

French withdraw from□650□650-51

guerrilla warfare and□670-71□672

ideology of personalism of Diem and□656-57

insurgency in□684□685□687□690-92□693-94

land reform in□640□683

MAAG in□629-30

“*My-Diem*”□American-Diem□□687□696

nationalism and nationalist movements□626

neutrality of□624

NLF and COSVN□Viet Minh organizations□in□691

OCB report on□695

partition (1954), 606

partition, line of demarcation and, 604

“regroupees” in, 690

religious sects and gangs, 626, 627, 634, 642-43

as Republic of Vietnam (RVN), 656

as State of (South) Vietnam, 625

terrorist attacks, 684

U.S.aid to (dollars), 641, 669-70, 680

U.S. and nation-building (modernization), 658-59

U.S.counterinsurgency plan for, 698-99

U.S.direct aid/formal commitment to, 630, 634-48, 669-73

U.S.involvement grows in, 652-53

U.S.military advisors in, number of (1962-1964), 704, 706

South Vietnam (*cont.*)

U.S.military escalation in, advisors accompany South Vietnamese Army), 698-99, 709

U.S.-sanctioned coup d’état (1962), 705-6

Viet Cong campaign of assassination, 685, 698, 704

Viet Cong controlled areas, 698

Viet Cong in, 692, 698

Viet Minh cadres in, 620, 655

Viet Minh infiltration of, 688-89, 690-91

South Vietnamese Army. *See* Army of the Republic of Vietnam

Souvanna Phouma, Prince, 374

Soviet Union, 14. *See also* Molotov, Vyacheslav; Stalin, Joseph

atomic bomb and, 221

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 426, 434-36, 437

Cold War and, 183, 335

Communist China and, 222, 226, 227-28, 395-96, 483, 704

“doctor’s plot,” 335

DRV recognized by, 224, 226, 228

expansionism, 57-58, 60, 63, 88

five-power conference on Asia proposed by, 429

French Indochina War and, 182, 194, 395-96

Geneva Accords and, 631

Geneva Conference and, 520, 521, 549, 550, 580, 582-83

Ho Chi Minh and, xvii, xix, 14, 16-17, 83, 106-7, 185, 194, 197, 225-26, 330, 397, 520, 653-54, 688

Indochina policy, 128

Nazi Germany and, 19

partition of Vietnam and, 520

“peaceful coexistence” commitment, 608

Sino-Soviet split, 704

Sino-Soviet treaty, 227-28, 483

U.S.fears of Asian domination by, 367-68

U.S.relations with, 183, 185

Viet Minh and, xi, 185

Vietnam elections and, 653

Vietnam War (American War) and, 688, 711

World War Ⅱ and, 19, 39

Spain, Nancy, 660

Spector, Ronald, 89

Spellman, Francis Cardinal, 589, 677

Spender, Percy, 459, 470, 471, 565, 570

Stalin, Joseph, xvii, 54-55, 64-65, 74, 128, 182, 194

death of, 342, 395

Ho Chi Minh and, 225, 228

lack of interest in Southeast Asia, 222

Mao and, 226, 227, 228

as nationalist, 227

Starobin, Joseph, 326-27

Stassen, Harold, 552

“State of Vietnam,” 211, 562, 576, 587, 588, 594, 601, 602, 606, 610

post-Geneva, 625, 626, 637

Stennis, John, 464

Sternel, Jacques, 15-16

Stettinius, Edward, 62, 63, 89

Stevenson, Adlai E., 334

Stimson, Henry L., 471

St. Louis Post-Dispatch, 629

Story of a Lost Peace (Sainteny), 129

Street Without Joy (Fall), 713

Stump, Adm. Felix, 639

Sudrat, Maj. André, 406

Sully, François, 685

Sulzberger, C.L., 495, 644

Sun Yat-sen, 9, 17, 18

Syria, 90, 145

Tacitus, 714

Taft, Robert A., 184, 554

Tai people, 77, 381, 383

  highlands of, 321, 323, 324, 329, 389-90

as partisan fighters, 403-4, 406, 409, 534, 545

Ta Quang Buu, 595-96, 597, 610

Taussig, Charles, 66

Thailand, 17, 39, 219

Communist threat in, 340-41

Ho Chi Minh’s representatives and U.S.diplomats in, 195-96, 225

Indochina multilateral coalition and, 469, 565

SEATO and, 624

Thai Lap Thanh, 288

“Theses on the National and Colonial Questions” (Lenin), 13

Third Force, 293-94, 300-301, 305-7, 375

Diem and, 368, 625

The Quiet American and, 294, 299-300, 307, 660, 663, 681

Trinh Minh Thé and, 305-6, 307, 642, 645

U.S.as, 707

Third Man, The (Greene), 299

Thomas, Col. Allison, 85, 86

Thomas, Martin, 180

Thomas, Norman, 664, 680

Thorez, Maurice, 128, 142, 197, 225

Time magazine, 212-13, 282, 302, 350, 363, 685

  Bien Hoa attack reported, 701

  cover story on Navarre, 363

  Greene and, 296-97

  pro-Diem propaganda, 664-65

Times of London, 492

Tito, Josip Broz, 107, 219, 225, 226, 227

Tojo, Hideki, 39, 42

Tonkin (Bac Bo), *vii*, *ix*, 7, 17. *See also* Haiphong

  anti-colonialism in (pre-World War II), 18

  Chinese occupation force in, 129, 130

  colons (French settlers) in, 129

famine□1944-45□□79-81□*80*

French bombing□1952□□297

French driven out□250□252

French invasion□Operation Bentré□□132-33

French troops in□129□140□235□244-45

Giap base in Viet Bac□150

“Gold Week□” 126-27

highlands□321□*see also* Dien Bien Phu□

Ho Chi Minh in□78□91

Japanese occupation and□29-30□31□33□38□68□71

persecution of Jews under Decoux regime□38

Sainteny as French commissioner□128-30

strategic importance□263

Viet Minh in□77□81□82□109□152□154□171□175□190□242-43□250□252□340

Viet Nam Doc lap distributed in□35-36

Tønnesson□Stein□149-50

Ton That Tung□452□516

Topping, Seymour, xii-xiii, 169, 233, 750n 8

Trafic des piastres, Le (Despuech), 348

Tran Do, 416

Tran Huy Lieu, 153

Tran Trong Kim, 72, 81

Tran Trung Thanh, 97, 98

Tran Van Do, 602, 644

Tran Van Giau, 112, 127

Tran Van Huu, 275-76, 277

Tran Van Tra, 690

Trapnell, Gen. Thomas J.H., 344

Trevor-Wilson, A.G., 280, 295, 302, 303

Trinh Minh Thé, 294, 299, 305-6, 642

  assassination of, 645

Trudeau, Pierre Elliott, 209-10

Truman, Harry, 230

  Acheson and, 218

aid program for Indochina approved, 231

anti-Communism and policy, 159, 183-84, 186, 211-13, 223

blamed for “losing” China, 333, 335, 367, 429, 554, 666, 710

de Gaulle and, 102-4, 106

Élysée Accords supported, 212

fears of French withdrawal from Indochina, 312-13, 316

Ho Chi Minh attempts to contact, 104-6, 128

Indochina policy, 66, 87-91, 101, 104-7, 158-59, 182, 196-97, 264, 340, 697, 709

Indochina policy, opponents, 159-60, 232-33

Indochina War aid and, 230-33, 232, 256, 283, 284, 291, 300, 308

Korean War and, 256, 283, 291, 460, 464

negotiations on Vietnam forbidden by, 316-19

Potsdam agreement and, 90-91, 99

World War Ⅱ and, 42

Truman Doctrine, 184, 217

Truong Chinh (Dang Xuan Khu), 35, 79, 93, 95, 170-71, 226, 234, 273

Ho, Giap, and, strategy meeting for Dien Bien Phu, 388-89

political settlement of war and, 598

removed from post, 633

U.S.as enemy, not France, 520

visit to China and Soviet Union (1955), 653

Tunisia, 220, 314, 623

Turpin, Frédéric, 187

Ugly American, The (Burdick and Lederer), 667

United Action, 461-80, 481-503, 571, 572, 624. *See also* SEATO (Southeast Asia Treaty Organization)

United Nations, 52, 60

admission of Red China and, 430

creation of, 89

Franco-Viet Minh War and, 187, 196

Korean War and, 257, 280, 282

United States' power in, xiii

United States, xvi, xxi, 453

anti-colonialism of, 46-66, 182, 187

anti-Communism and foreign policy, 159, 183, 211-13, 222-23, 230, 365-66, 429-31, 554, 587, 651, 710-11 (*see also* Eisenhower, Dwight D.)

anti-Communism in, xiii, 143, 184-85, 212-13, 223, 282, 297, 303, 334-37, 430, 454

United States (*cont.*)

Berlin conference of foreign ministers (1954), 426-31, 434-36, 436

Britain's Asian territories and, 58

China and, 28, 42, 53-54, 57, 108, 234, 319, 395-96, 458, 483, 503

China and, refusal to recognize "Red China," 429, 439, 555

Cold War and, 183, 188, 196, 213, 224, 315, 493

colonies of, 46-47

Declaration of Independence, 97, 134

Diem’s trip to, 674-78, 675

Eisenhower’s policies on Indochina, 339-49, 399, 427, 454-509, 591, 623-24, 629, 630, 644-48, 652-53, 658, 663-73, 697-98, 709, *see also* Dulles, John Foster, Geneva Conference,

France in Vietnam, importance to U.S.of maintaining, 230-31, 278, 308, 312-14, 316, 341, 365-66, 370, 373, 377, 399, 467, 502

France’s colonial goals and, xi, xiii, xvii, xviii, xxi, 31, 32, 58, 89, 118, 159, 212-13

Franco-U.S. “summit” (June 26, 1954), 593-94

French distrust of motives in Indochina, 156, 182

French Indochina war, neutral stance, 182, 186, 212-13

French Indochina war, supported, 217, 224, 230-33, 232, 234, 256, 271, 284-86, 308, 341-42, *see also* Eisenhower, Dwight D.,

Geneva Accords and, 612, 623, 631, 651, 652

Geneva Conference and, 460, 479, 492, 520, 549-76, 580-82, 588, 591-92, 594, 599-600, 602-3, 605, 606

Ho Chi Minh desire for alliance with, xvii, xxi, 82-86, 87, 98-106, 128, 134, 143, 158-59, 229

Ho Chi Minh visit, xxi, 11, 134

ideals of, and anti-colonial nationalists, xvi

Indochina policy, before Eisenhower, 50-66, 87-91, 101, 104-7, 158-59, 182, 183, 186, 196-97, 218

Indochina policy, direct military intervention advocated, 347, 366, 427-29, 453, 454-80, 481-509, 563-66 (*see also* United Action)

Indochina policy, document NSC-124, 319

Indochina policy, document NSC-177 (NSC-5405), 427, 458

Indochina policy, opponents, 159-60, 232-33, 286-87, 629

Indochina policy, post-Geneva, 663-66

Indochina policy, United Action approach, 461-63, 469, 470, 471, 481-509, 553, 563, 565, 566, 570-71, 572 (*see also* SEATO)

internationalism, 336

Japan’s postwar recovery and Southeast Asian policy, 221

Johnson’s policies and Vietnam, 217, 706, 709-11

Kennedy’s positions on Vietnam, xiii-xiv, xv, 477-78, 589, 658, 665-66, 702-6, 709-11

Korean War and, 596-97

de Lattre’s visit to (1951), 281-84, 286

military strength and commitments (1954), 508

national debt (1954), 495

Nixon’s Easter statement (1954) and testing of public attitude toward U.S.military in Vietnam, 492-93

nuclear weapons and, 482-83, 498-500

Philippines and, *see* Philippines, postwar policy, 60

postwar representatives in Vietnam, 100-102, *102*

Republicans and split response to United Action, 553-54

Roosevelt’s policies and Indochina, 52-56, 64, 65, 66, 74, 87, 89, 90, 109

Smith committee on Indochina, 428

South Vietnam, Diem backed by, xiv-xv, xix, 589-91, 624, 628-30, 634-48, 649, 652-53, 663-73

South Vietnam, involvement in, commitment to, 623, 625-30, 648, 649, 650, 652-53, 663-73, 678

South Vietnam public opinion and Dooley 666-69 *667*

South Vietnam public opinion and media 664-65 677-78

Soviet Union and 57-58 183 185

Special Mission for Technical and Economic Assistance STEM 257

status in Indochina following World War Ⅱ xii-xiii

Truman's policies on Indochina 66 87-91 101 104-7 120 158-59 182 196-97 229-30 697 709

"unconditional surrender" ideal and 430 554

"Vietnam Lobby" 658

Vietnam-U.S.military involvement escalation 1959 698-99

Vietnam War *see main entry* Vietnam War

World War Ⅱ and 27 29 31-32 41-43 50 57-58 87-88

U Nu 595

U.S.Congress

American Friends of Vietnam AFV and 664-66

anti-Communism and，430

approval of Truman Doctrine，184

de Gaulle and，59

Diem backers in，628，644，645-46，664-65，674，677，708

French Indochina War，aid to and，233，284，365，366

Gulf of Tonkin resolution，706，767n 23

“hawks” in，708

Indochina coalition and，566

meeting of April 3，1954 and，467-70，768n 26

partition of Vietnam and，567

SEATO and，624

Smith committee on Indochina and，477

U.S.direct military intervention in Vietnam and，xiv，458，459，464，465，466，467-70，472，474，476，477，481，485，486，494，497，505，508，565，566，568-69

U.S.secret war in Vietnam and，704

U.S.Information Service（USIS or USIA），278-79，308，309-10，371，409，648

U.S.News & World Report, 463, 567, 572, 646

Valluy, Gen. Jean Étienne, 290, 347, 455

assault on Haiphong and, 154-57

assigned to Indochina, 142

background of, 168

French Indochina War and, 160-61, 168-70, 172-79, 180, 203-4, 207-8

lack of prior approval for policy decisions, 158

Operation Ceinture (1947), 203

Operation Léa (1947), 201-3, 202

report on dire situation in Indochina (1954), 571-72

request for U.S.air strikes at Dien Bien Phu and, 496

Vandenberg, Arthur, 183

Vanuxem, Col.Paul, 270

Viet Cong (Vietnamese Communists), 692, 695, 698

attacks in 1965, 712

campaign of assassination, 685, 698

control of areas in South Vietnam, 698

first U.S.casualties and, 699-700

guerrilla warfare and, 706

Viet Minh. *See also* Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Vo Nguyen Giap, Gen.

American OSS agents and, 82-86, *86*

August Revolution, 93-98

Bao Dai Solution, response to, 211-12

Chinese occupation of Vietnam and, 109-10

Communism and, 85, 151, 159, 185, 462-63

Communist countries recognize (1950), 224-25, 234

condition of independence for negotiations with France, 112

conscription by, 331

core objective, 36

creation of, 35, 149

enters Hanoi, 93, 95, 96

extortion and terrorism by, 172

Franco-Vietnamese talks, 112, 116, 117, 124-26, 137-46, 138

Geneva Conference and, 550, 551, 554-55, 559-62, 566, 578, 580, 595-96, 601, 609-10

hardships after 1950, xvii-xviii

Ho Chi Minh and, 77, 78

international recognition sought, 127-28

March, Japanese, coup and, 78

March 6 Accords and, 133-34, 135, 140, 736n 19

military commander in the south for, 152

as nationalist movement, 35, 161

nationalist opponents, 109, 128, 151, 197

partition, line of demarcation and, 609

partition and French withdrawal from Indochina, 563, *606*, 617-19, *618*

Patti and, 100-102

planned Allied cooperation with, 79

popular support for, 161, 300, 307, 330-31, 520

regulars*chu luc*171

rice and economy of245

snubbing by Gracey113115-16

Viet Minh *cont.*

in South Vietnam620

Tan Trap meeting and Ninth Plenum94

tribal resistance to383

U.S.as foexxi233-34520

U.S.backing sought by98-104

use of torture by177

“way of war” 153

women in35*96*

World War Ⅱ and control of Indochina77-82

FRENCH INDOCHINA WAR ANDxix. *See also* French Indochina WarFranco-Viet Minh Warspecific operations

attacks on and near Saigonxⅱ

bamboo pontoon bridge*240*

base areas for150-51171

bicycles used by, 415, *416*

casualties (total figures), 619

China's support, xi, xii, xvii, 155, 227, 234-37, 239, 242, 243, 243, 314-16, 321, 483

Cold War and, 234

Dien Bien Phu (*see* Dien Bien Phu)

guerrilla warfare and, 143-44, 151, 153, 174-78

headquarters (Viet Bac, Bac Kan), *ix*, 150, 170, 173, 201, 202, 202, 203, 208, 238, 240, 320

Ho Chi Minh-Mao's two-stage strategy for, 321-22

Ho Chi Minh's role in strategy, 330, 388, 389-90

Laos invasion, 344-45

morale problems, 389, 561

myths about, 326

physical environment as problem, 326

POWs, treatment of, 539-42

propaganda, 242, 259, 269

Red River Delta attack planned, 538, 562, 571, 577, 586

sabotage and booby traps used by, 151, 174, 210, 242

suicide bombing, 288, 750n 54

Territorial Control 1950–1954, *441, 538*

territory controlled by (1948), 210, 743n 37

terrorist attacks, 320, 421

troop strength, 239

women in, 241

Vietnam, 5, 77. *See also* Associated States, French Indochina War, French Union, North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Viet Minh, Vietnam War

Americans in, prior to 1950, 233

anti-colonialism in (pre-World War II), 17-19

anti-French animus and, xiv, 175-76, 495

August Revolution, 93-98

Bao Dai Solution, 198-201, 204-6, 207, 210-12, 219

bridges and causeways, 173-74

British spies in, 302-3

Catholics in, 126, 276, 298-99, 302, 591, 637-38

Chinese occupation, 90, 99, 108-10, 126, 129, 131

CIA in, 304

Cold War and, 230, 315, 340

complexity of relationship to French, 145, 619

devaluation of the piaster, 347-49, 370

DRV created (1945), 96 (*see also* Democratic Republic of Vietnam)

ethnic minorities of, 77

famine (1944-45), 79-81, *80*, 94, 126

first U.S.aid to French, 118

Francophile anti-colonialists in, 9, 17

French-appointed governor-general of, 7, 12, 76 (*see also* Gatroux, Gen.Georges; Decoux, Adm.Jean)

French colonialism in, xviii, 5-9, 36-39, 71-76, 94, 107, 206

French declaration (1944) and, 75-76

French *mission civilisatrice* in, 6, 7, 179, 190, 559

French return post-war, 100, 107

French supporters in, 8

French withdrawal from North, 620

Geneva Accords and, xiv, xviii, 604-5 (*see also* South Vietnam)

geography, flora, and fauna of, 5

Ho Chi Minh declares independence (1945), 92, 94-98, *96*, 110

International Control Commission and, 618

Leclerc and French forces in, 91

March Japanese coup, 72, 76, 78, 149, 156, 191

nationalism and nationalist movements (*see* nationalism and nationalist movements)

neutrality of, 604

Paris-appointed governor-general, 7

partition (1954), xviii, 521-22, *606*

partition, line of demarcation and, 596, 597, 604, 605

as “part of the world,” 397, 426

peasant uprising 1930-31, 190

persecution under Decoux regime, 38

Potsdam agreement and, 90-91, 99

“rice struggles,” 81

roads of, 173, 174-75, 393

Roosevelt’s trusteeship formula and, 52-56, 64, 65, 66, 74, 87, 89, 90, 109

security police (Sûreté Générale), 4, 17, 38, 77, 78, 148, 235-36, 294, 302

Sino-French negotiations, 120, 130, 132, 133

Territorial Control 1954, *538*

three regions of, 7-8 (*see also* Annam, Cochin China, Tonkin)

topography, 7-8

Truman’s policies and, 66, 87-91, 101, 104-7, 158-59, 182, 196-97, 308

U.S., as WW Ⅱ liberators, 72, 98, 99, 733n 27

U.S. agencies in, 257, 278-79, 308-10, 344, 371, 409

U.S.entrenchment in, 307, 341

U.S.in, pre-World War Ⅱ, 32

U.S.policy and domino theory, 222-23, 339, 341, 342, 345, 364

U.S.presence post-1950, 233, 271, 278-80, 281

U.S.recognizes French sovereignty (1945), 89

U.S.resented/hated, xⅲ, xxi

U.S.seen as supplanting France in, 156, 182, 278-79, 308-9, 310, 749n 36

U.S.Special Mission for Technical and Economic Assistance (STEM) in, 257, 278, 300, 309-10

Vichy-Japan détente and, *37*, 37-39, 67-71, 77

Viet Minh control increase, World War Ⅱ, 77-82

Viet Minh territorial control 1948, 210, 743n 37

Viet Minh Territorial Control 1950, 1954, *441*

winning “hearts and minds,” 37, 260, 286-87, 300, 332, 699

World War I and, 9

World War Ⅱ and，28-34，33，*37*，37-39，*40*，41，67-71，90

Xuan government，205-6，211

Viet-Nam，sociologie d'une guerre（Mus），192，350，741n7

Viet Nam Doc lap（Independent Vietnam），35-36

Vietnamese Liberation Army（VLA），81

Vietnamese National Army（VNA），267，281，332，342，354，359，373，376，399，440，483

acts of treachery in，421

buildup of，389

creation of，256，258

desertions，571，607

Dien Bien Phu and，450

"general mobilization" and de Lattre's plea，277-78

Letourneau Plan and，344，355

morale problems，672

Navarre Plan and，355，369

Nguyen Van Hinh and, 627
as "puppet army," 520
Training Relations Instruction Mission (TRIM), 639
U.S. role with, 457, 629, 630, 639
weakness of, 546, 571, 586
Vietnamese Revolutionary Youth League, 17
Vietnamese Workers Party (VWP, or Lao Dong), 171, 387, 517, 522, 562
"Fifth July Document," 597
Sixth Central Committee Plenum, 597-98
"Viet Nam *Has* a Third Force" (Sanders), 300-301
"Vietnam Lobby," 658
Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dang. *See* VNQDD
Vietnam Revolutionary League (Viet Nam Cach Menh Dong Minh Hoi), 78
Vietnam Veterans Memorial, xv, 701, 793n 61
Vietnam War (American War)
American troops in (1965), 714

American weaponry and aid in (1962), 704
Bernard Fall comparison of French and Americans, 713-15, 795n 24
Bien Hoa attack, xv, 699-701
"counterinsurgency" doctrine, xx, 670, 714, 795n 23
de Gaulle on, 713
DRV's decision to begin hostilities in the South and, 690
DVR escalation (1963), 711-13
first U.S.combat battalions arrive near Da Nang, 712
Ho Chi Minh on, 712-13
Ho Chi Minh Trail, 690, 712
"honorable peace" sought, xx-xxi
Johnson and, 217, 706
Kennedy and, 702-6
MIAs, 774n 34
Vietnam War (American War) (*cont.*)
Operation Rolling Thunder (1965), 712

as secret war□698-99□704-6

start of□xv

“sunk-cost fallacy□” xx

“the stalemate machine□” xx

U.S.casualties□first□xv□115-16□699-701□774n 34□793n 61

U.S.casualties□total□xv

U.S.military advisors in□1962-1963□□704

U.S.military advisors in□1964□□706

U.S.soldiers’complaints□xix-xx

Viet Cong and guerilla warfare□706

Vietnamese casualties□xv

Vietnam War□first. *See* Franco-Viet Minh War

Vincent□John Carter□88

Violette□Maurice□181

VNQDD□17-18□95□128□132□199□259

crushing by Viet Minh□151

Voltaire□9□15

Vo Nguyen Giap, Gen., xvii, 81, *86*

American Communist Starobin and, 326-27

army size (1945), 127

army size (1948), 210

background of, 147-49

character and personality, 149, 197

Chinese occupation of Vietnam and, 110

as commander Viet Minh army, 98, 147, 149, 178, 735n 9

Dalat talks and d’Argenlieu, 137, 141

extortion and terrorism by, 172

“Gold Week” and, 127, 735n 9

Hanoi takeover post-partition, 618

hatred of French, 148

Ho Chi Minh and, 148-50

killing of non-Communist rivals, 151

March 6 Accords and, 736n 19

Modus Vivendi cease-fire and, 151-52

Patti and*102*

training in China149

Vietnam WarAmerican Warand711

Zhou Enlai and596

FRENCH INDOCHINA WAR AND

army as People’s Army of VietnamPAVN253

base areas for150-51171

Border Campaign1950243-52259265

Chinese advisors387-88393-94412413423424746n 24760n 24

Chinese assistance242

command headquarters246

concerns about French military successes178

Day River Battlesfailure of259268-73*269*

Day River BattlesPhat Diem1951*269*272276295297-98

Dien Bien Phu and387-95411-17421-25439452760n 24

Dien Bien Phu attack plan, 448, 452, 465-66, 500, 519

Dien Bien Phu *grignotage* tactic, 514-15

Dien Bien Phu memoirs, 517-18

“The Disaster of RC4” and, 250

Dong Khe offensive (1950), 238, 244

enemy prisoners and, 539

guerrilla warfare and, 153-54, 210, 237, 273, 287

Hoa Binh battle and, 289, 320

Ho Chi Minh-Mao’s two-stage strategy and, 322

Laos and, 345, 387

Mao’s three phase strategy and, 150, 170-71, 268, 273

Na San, failure at, 327-29

Northwest Campaign (1952), 321-23, 326-27

Pascal quote, 324

porters used, 239, 393, 414

rainy season and preparations, 241-42

Red River Delta attack planned, 538, 562, 571, 577

regional and guerrilla-militia forces, 239, 241
response to Operation Léa (1947), 203
Salan's assessment, 355
shift to strategic offensive (1950), 238-39, 243
supply and equipment shortages, 253, 747n 26
troop strength, 239, 243, 244
Viet Minh attacks (1949), 237
Viet Minh offensive of Dec.19 and 20 (1946), 161
weapons and ammunition for, 127, 130, 155
Voroshilov, Kliment, 17
Vu Trong Phung, 93
Wallace, Henry, 184
Wall Street Journal, 463, 492
Walsh, Edmund, 589
Warner, Denis, 369
Warren, Earl, 668
Washington Post, 467, 492, 553, 676

Watkins，Arthur，464

Waugh，Evelyn，660

Ways of Escape（Greene），295，681

Webb，Clifton，565

Wedemeyer，Gen.Albert C.，65，88，90

Wei Guoqing，235，394，412，413，424，596

Welles，Sumner，29，32，52

Westmoreland，Gen.William，xx

White，Frank，134

White，Theodore，57，706

Wickes，George，118，134-35

Wiley，Alexander，479

Williams，Gen.Samuel T.，669-73

  Diem and，671，686，792n 55

Wilson，Art，528

Wilson，Charles E.，458，466，629

Wilson，Woodrow，9，14，83，229，336

collective security, 47
colonialism and, 3-4
Fourteen Points, xxi, 3-4, 12
mandate system, 52
Windrow, Martin, 542
women
French, in PFAT, 244
French pilots, 244
Viet Minh and, 35
Viet Minh in French Indochina War, 241
World War I
colonial troops fighting in, 9
de Gaulle in, 24
Dien Bien Phu compared to fighting in, 514-15, 545
European military in Indochina, 9
nationalism/nationalist movements and, 9
Paris Peace Conference, 3-4, 11

scramble for empire and, 46, 47

World War II. *See also* Office of Strategic Services

Allied victory, 72

Allies in North Africa, 51

American status in Indochina at conclusion of, xii-xiii, 733n 27

Battle of France, 24, 50

Britain and, 23, 24, 26, 29, 50

Cairo Declaration, 54

colonialism and, xvi

colonial troops fighting in, 25

Dien Bien Phu during, 382

end of, 91, 94

France and, xvi, 23-34, 723-24n 8, 724n 13

Free French, 24, 25-26, 31, 38, 43, 44-45, 51, 52, 61, 63, 73, 75, 124, 165, 190, 260, 261

Germany and, xvi, 19, 39, 43, 51

in Indochina, 19, 27-34, 38, *39, 40*, 41, 50, 63-66, 68-71

Italian campaign, 465

Japan becomes Axis ally, 39

Japan takes over Vietnam, 67-71

MAGIC intercepts, 41, 68, 726n 39

OSS agents and Ho Chi Minh, 82-86

Pearl Harbor attack, 42

Potsdam agreement, 90-91, 99, 109

United States and, 27, 29, 31-32, 41-43, 50, 57-58, 87-88

U.S.Philippine reconquest, 68

Yalta conference, 64-65

Zhang Wentien, 522

Zhou Enlai, xvi, 229, 395, 486, 520, 522, 523

appearance, 549

diplomacy with Asian leaders, 595

Dulles snub of, 555, 775n 8

Geneva Accords, critical role in, 608-9

Geneva Conference and, 549-50, 555-56, 559, 580, 581-83, 599-603, *603*, 608-10

Ho Chi Minh meeting (Liuzhou, July, 1954), 595-97, 598

Ho Chi Minh secret meeting (June, 1954), 585

Mendès France and meeting at Bern (June 23, 1954), 583-85, 592, 595-96, 610, 779n 20

partition, line of demarcation and, 597

Soviet-Chinese-Viet Minh Geneva meeting on strategy (June 15), 582-83

telegram to CCP (June 15, 1954), 583

Vietnam elections and, 610

Zinoviev, Gregory, 17

□□□□□□□CIP□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□2□/□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Fredrik Logevall□□□□□.--□□□□□□□□□□□□□2017.10□2019.1□□□

□□□□□Embers of War□The Fall of an Empire and the Making of America’s Vietnam

ISBN 978-7-5201-0312-1

Ⅰ.①□… Ⅱ.①□…②□… Ⅲ.①□□□□□□□□-□□ Ⅳ.①K333.51

□□□□□□□CIP□□□□□2017□□018618□

□□□□□

——□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□

□□/□□□□□□□□·□□□□□Fredrik Logevall□

□□/□□

□□□/□□□

□□□□/□□□ □□□

□□□□/□□ □□□

□□/□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□□010□59366551

□□□□□□□□□□□□29□□□□□□ □□□100029

□□□www.ssap.com.cn

□□/□□□□□□□010□59367081 59367083

□□/□□□□□□□□□□□

□□/□□□889mm×1194mm 1/32

□□□32.5 □□□750□□

□□/2017□10□□1□ 2019□1□□2□□□

□□/ISBN 978-7-5201-0312-1

□□□□□□□□/□□01-2014-2222□

□□/158.00□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□010-59367028□□□

□□□□ □□□□

詹涓

武汉大学传播学硕士毕业后任职多家媒体，负责编译及审校工作。业余主要从事二战和战后历史著作翻译。

社科文献设计中心
010-59367109

装帧设计 / 宋　涛

对于法国殖民秩序摇摇欲坠、一连串美国领导人一步步探向全面战争的道路，这本历史著作做出了平衡而深入的研究。**——2013 年普利策奖评语**

这本有关当代史的伟大著作融合了强有力的叙事推力、深厚的学术权威和淡定的阐述自信。**——2013 年弗朗西斯·帕克曼奖评语**

这则史诗般的传奇论及的是错失的机会、自我中心与无谓的消耗，它指出的是愚蠢而非邪恶，在人类事件进程中发挥的作用。《战争的余烬》深入详尽、笔法老辣，充满戏剧张力，是个强有力的警世故事。**——入围 2013 年莱昂内尔·盖尔伯奖决选名单，评审团评语**

关于法越战争、美国卷入，以及美国主导的这场战争的起源，《战争的余烬》是目前最详实的专著……本书令人信服地讲述了两场越南战争中极度不道德的故事，比此前其他所有书都更为全面。**——《纽约书评》，梅兆赞（Jonathan Mirsky）**

引人入胜的皇皇巨著……罗格瓦尔的写作带着雄心勃勃的视野和挖掘适当细节的直觉……如果当年能强制肯尼迪和他的政策制定者们阅读此书，将会发生什么？**——《国家利益杂志》**

甲骨文官方微信

ISBN 978-7-5201-0312-1

定价：158.00 元（上、下）

中青文官方微信

定价：158.00元（上、下）